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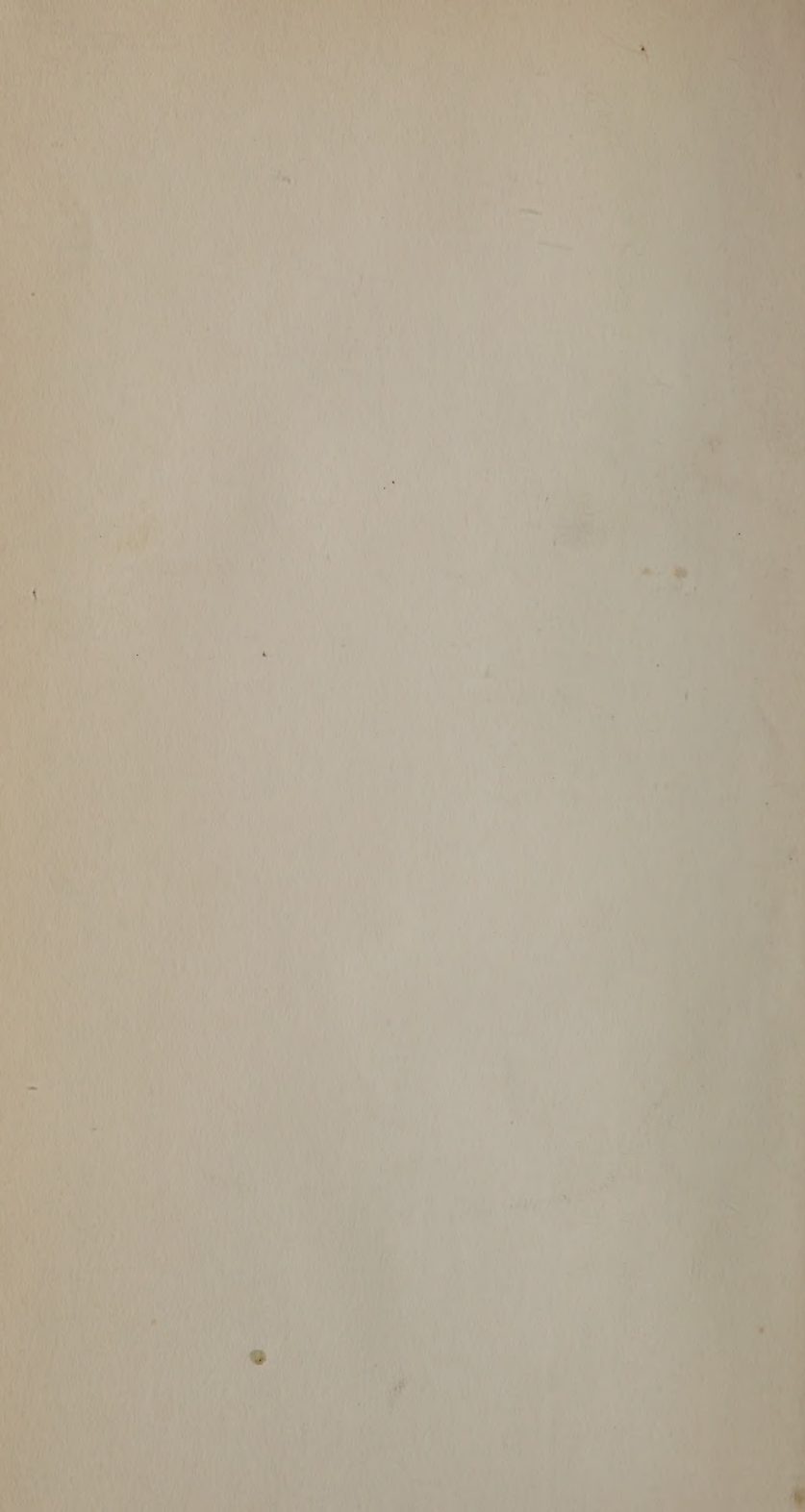


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THE

Old and New Testaments

CONNECTED IN THE HISTORY OF

THE

JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM THE

Declensions of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL and JUDAH

TO THE

TIME OF CHRIST.

BY HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D.

DEAN OF NORWICH.

The first American, from the Sixteenth London edition.

TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

Which contains some Letters which he wrote in Defence and
Illustration of certain parts of his CONNEXIONS.

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH EIGHT NEW MAPS AND
PLATES, AND A FINE PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR.

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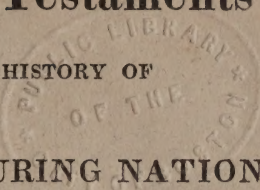
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CHARLESTOWN: (MASS.)

PUBLISHED AT THE MIDDLESEX BOOKSTORE.

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J. M'Kown, Printer.

1816.

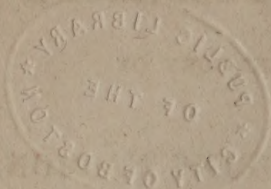
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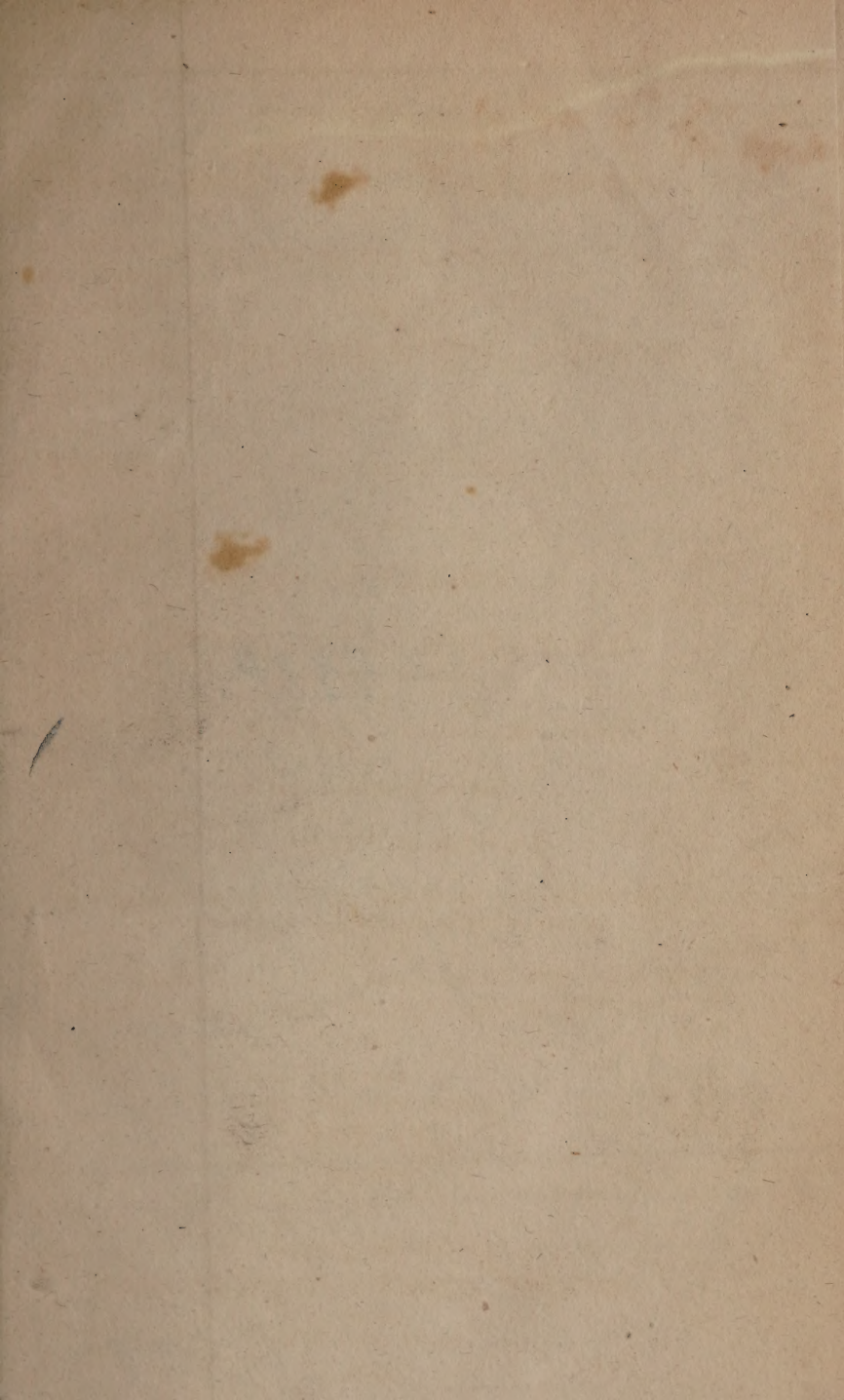
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THE
Old and New Testaments
CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK VI.

HYRCANUS, at his death, left five sons behind him,^a the first **Aristobulus**, the second **Antigonus**, the third **Alexander**, and the fifth **Ab-salom**; ^{Anno 107. Aristobulus.} what was the name of the fourth is no where said. **Aristobulus**,^c as being the eldest, succeeded his father both in the office of high priest, and also in that of supreme government of the country; and, as soon as he was settled in them, he put a diadem upon his head, and assumed the title of king; and he was the first that did so in that land since the Babylonish captivity. His mother, by virtue of **Hyrcanus**' will, claimed a right to the sovereignty after his death, but **Aristobulus**, having overpowered her, cast her into prison, and there starved her to death. As to his brothers, **Antigonus** the eldest of them being much in his favour and affection, he at first shared the government with him, but afterwards did put him to death, in the manner as will by and by be related; the other three he shut up in prison, and there kept them as long as he lived.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, having incurred his mother's displeasure, for sending an army into Palestine against the Jews, contrary to her mind, as hath been above related,^d she carried it on so far against him, for this and some other like attempts which he

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 19.

^b Ibid. lib. 14, c. 8.

^c Ibid. lib. 13, c. 19, & de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

^d Justin. lib. 39, c. 4. Pausanias in Atticis. Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri, p. 60.

had made of reigning without her, that, having first taken Selene his wife from him, (by whom he had now two sons,) ^e she drove him out of the kingdom. For the accomplishment of this, she caused some of her favourite eunuchs to be wounded, and then bringing them out into the public assembly of the Alexandrians, there pretended, that they had suffered this from Lathyrus in defence of her person against him, and thereon accused him of having made an attempt upon her life: whereby she so far incensed the people, that they rose in a general uproar against him, and would have torn him in pieces, but that he fled for his life, and, having gotten on board a ship in the harbour, therein made his escape from their fury. Hereon, Cleopatra called to her Alexander her younger son, who, for some years past had reigned in Cyprus; and, having made him king of Egypt in the room of Lathyrus, forced Lathyrus to be content with Cyprus on Alexander's leaving of it.

Aristobulus, as soon as he had settled himself at home in the full possession of his father's authority, ^f made war upon the Itureans, and, having subdued the greatest part of them, forced them to become proselytes to the Jewish religion, in like manner as Hyrcanus some time before, had forced the Idumeans to do the same thing. For he left them no other choice, but either to be circumcised, and embrace the Jewish religion, or else leave their country, and seek out for themselves new habitations elsewhere; whereon, having chosen the former, they became ingrafted at the same time into the Jewish religion, as well as the Jewish state: and in this manner the Asmonean princes dealt with all those whom they conquered. Iturea, ^g the country where those people dwelt, was part of Cœle-Syria, bordering upon the north eastern part of the land of Israel, as lying between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan, and the territories of Damascus.

^e These his two sons died before him, for he had no legitimate male issue at his death.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 19.

^g Videas Relandi Palestinam, lib. 1, c. 22.

It was called Ituria from Itur,^h one of the sons of Ismael, who, in our English version, is wrongfully called Jetur. This country is the same which is sometimes called Auronitis. As Idumea lay at one end of the land of Israel, so Iturea lay at the other; and thus much it is necessary to say, because, by reason of some similitude of the names, the one hath been mistaken for the other. Philip, one of the sons of Herod,ⁱ was tetrarch, or prince of this country, when John the Baptist first entered on his ministry.

Aristobulus, returning sick to Jerusalem from Iturea, left Antigonus his brother there with the army, to finish the war which he had begun in that country. While he lay ill,^k his queen and the courtiers of her party, envying the interest which Antigonus had with him, were continually buzzing into his ears stories for the exciting in him a jealousy of this his favourite brother. Not long after, Antigonus, having finished the war in Iturea with success, returned in triumph to Jerusalem; and the feast of tabernacles being then celebrating, he went immediately up to the temple, there to perform his devotions on that holy time, with his armour on, and his armed guards about him, in the same manner as he entered the city, without stopping any where to alter his dress. Aristobulus, then lying sick in his palace Baris, adjoining to the temple, had immediately an account given him hereof, for the firing of his jealousy against his brother; and it was warmly represented to him, that it was time for him to look to himself: for, certainly, they said, Antigonus would not have come in this manner armed, and with his armed guards about him, had he not some ill designs to execute against him. Aristobulus, being moved hereby, sent orders to Antigonus to put off his armour, and immediately come to him, concluding, that if he came unarmed, according to his orders, there was no hurt intended, but, if otherwise, he had certainly some design of mischief against him. And therefore, placing his guards in the passage through which his brother was to pass into the palace to come to him, gave them

^h Gen. xxv, 15. 1 Chron. i, 31. ⁱ Luke iii, 1.
^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 19; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

orders, that, if he came unarmed, they should let him safely pass, but, if otherwise, they should fall upon him and slay him. This passage through which he was to pass was a subterraneous gallery¹ which Hyrcanus had caused to be made when he built that palace, leading from thence into the temple, that thereby he might always have, on all occasions, a ready communication with it. The messenger that was sent to Antigonus, instead of bidding him come unarmed as directed, delivered a quite contrary message: for, being corrupted by the queen and her party, he told Antigonus, that the king, hearing that he had a very fine suit of armour on, desired he would come to him as then armed with it, that he might see how it became him. Antigonus, on his receiving this message, immediately passed through the gallery abovementioned, to go to the king, and, when he came to the place where the guards were posted, they, finding him armed, fell upon him according to their orders, and slew him. This fact was no sooner done, but Aristobulus most grievously repented of it. And this murder bringing into his mind the murder of his mother, his conscience flew him in the face at the same time for both, and the anxiety of his thoughts hereon increasing his disease, brought him to the vomiting of blood. While a servant was carrying away the vomited blood in a basin, he happened to stumble and spill it upon the place where Antigonus' blood had been shed. At this, all that were present made an outcry, apprehending it to be done of purpose. Aristobulus hearing the noise, inquired what was the matter; and finding all about him shy of telling him, the more they were so, the more earnest he was to know it, till at length they were forced to acquaint him with the whole that had happened; whereon a grievous remorse seized him all over, and his conscience extorted from him bitter accusations against himself for both these facts; and, in the agony which he suffered herefrom, he gave up the ghost and died, having reigned only one whole year. And such miserable exits do mostly such wicked men make, which

¹ This was afterwards repaired by Herod. (See Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 14) But was first built by Hyrcanus, as appears by this use of it.

are terrible enough to deter all such from their iniquities, though there were no such thing as the torments of hell to punish them afterwards for ever for the guilt of them.

Josephus^m tells us a very remarkable story of one Judas an Essene, relating to the murder of Antigonus. This man, seeing Antigonus come into the temple, as abovementioned, fell into a great passion thereat, and made more than ordinary expressions of it, both in word and behaviour; for he had foretold, that Antigonus should be slain that day at Straton's tower. Now, taking Straton's tower to be the town on the sea coast, then so named, but afterwards called Caesarea, which was full two days journey from Jerusalem, he thought his prophecy was defeated, and could not possibly be fulfilled that day, the major part of it being then past, and the place at so great a distance; and therefore, he expressed hereon the like impatience as Jonah did, on the failing of his prophecy against Nineveh. But while he was, in this agony and perplexity of mind, exclaiming against truth itself, in his being thus deceived, and wishing his death because hereof, came news that Antigonus was slain in that part of the subterraneous gallery abovementioned, which was just under that turret or tower of the palace which was called Straton's tower. Whereon the Essene, finding his prediction fulfilled in the lamentable murder of this prince, both as to the time and place, rejoiced in the comfort and satisfaction of having his prophecy verified, at the same time when all else were grieved at it.

Aristobulusⁿ was a great favourer of the Greeks, for which reason he was called Philellen, and the Greeks as much favoured him. For Timagenes, an historian of theirs, wrote of him, as Josephus tells us out of Strabo, "That he was a prince of equity, and had in many things been very beneficial to the Jews, in that he augmented their territories, and ingrafted into the Jewish state part of the nation of the Itureans, binding them to it by the bond of circumcision." But

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 19; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 19.

his actions above described give him another sort of character.

As soon as Aristobulus was dead,^o Solome his wife discharged the three brothers out of prison, and Alexander, surnamed Janneus, who was the eldest of them, took the kingdom. His next brother having made some attempt to supplant him, he caused him to be put to death, but the other, named Absalom, being contented to live quietly a private life under him, had his favour and protection as long as he lived, so that after this we hear no more of him, save only that, ^p having married his daughter to Aristobulus, the younger son of Alexander, his brother, he engaged in his cause against the Romans, and was made a prisoner by them on their taking the temple, under the command of Pompey, forty-two years after this time.

At this time, in Syria,^q the two brothers, Antiochus Grypus, and Antiochus Cyzicenus, one reigning at Antioch, and the other at Damascus, harassed each other with continual wars. Of which advantage being taken by some cities, which had formerly been parts of the Syrian empire, they asserted themselves into liberty, as Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, Gaza, and others; and tyrants took possession of some others of them, as Theodorus of Gadara, and Amathus beyond Jordan, Zoilus of Dora and Straton's tower, and others of other places. At the same time, Cleopatra, and Alexander, her younger son, were in possession of Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus, her eldest son, held Cyprus; and in this state were the affairs of the neighbouring countries when Alexander Janneus first became king of Judea.

This year was famous for the birth of two noble Romans,^r Cneius Pompeius Magnus, and Marcus Tullius Cicero,^s who, the one for war, and the other for letters, were two of the most eminent persons which that city ever brought forth.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 20; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 8.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 20. Justin. lib. 39. Appian. in Syriacis.

^r Vide Paternulum, lib. 2, c. 29.

^s Plutarchus in Cicerone. A. Gellius, lib. 15, c. 28. Plinius, lib. 27, c. 2.

After Alexander had settled all matters at home,^t he led forth his forces to make war with the people of Ptolemais, and having vanquished them in battle, shut them up within the walls of their city, and there besieged them; whereon they sent to Ptolemy Lathyrus, then reigning in Cyprus, to come to their relief; but afterwards having it suggested to them, that they might suffer as much from Ptolemy coming to them as a friend, as they should from Alexander as an enemy, and that, as soon as they should be joined with Ptolemy, they would draw Cleopatra with all the forces of Egypt upon them, they on these considerations altered their mind, resolving to stand upon their own strength alone for their defence, without admitting any auxiliaries at all; and took care, that Ptolemy should be informed as much. However, he having made ready an army of thirty thousand men, and equipped a fleet of proportionable power, for the transporting of them, made use of this pretence to land them in Phœnicia, and marched towards Ptolemais. But they taking no notice of him, nor answering any of his messages, he was in great difficulty what course to take. While he was in this perplexity, there came messengers to him from Zoilus, prince of Dora, and from the Gazeans, which delivered him from it. For, while Alexander, with one part of his forces, besieged Ptolemais, he sent the other to waste the territories of Zoilus, and those of Gaza; and therefore these messengers were sent to pray his assistance against them, which he readily consented to. Whereon Alexander was forced to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and led back his army from thence, to watch the steps of Lathyrus. And, finding that he could not prevail by his arms, he betook himself to politics, thinking by craft and deceit to carry his point; and therefore, courting the friendship of Lathyrus, he entered into a treaty with him, and engaged to pay him four hundred talents of silver, on the condition that he would deliver Zoilus into his hands, with the places which he held. Lathyrus accepted the terms, and accordingly

Anno 105.
Alexander
Janneus 1.

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 20.

seized Zoilus and all his territories, with intention to have delivered both into Alexander's hands. But, when he was ready so to have done, he found that Alexander was at the same time treating underhand with Cleopatra, to bring her upon him with all her forces, for the driving of him out of Palestine; whereon, detesting his double dealing, he broke off all friendship and alliance with him, and resolved to do him all the mischief that should be in his power.

And this he accordingly executed the next year after.^u For, being bent to have his revenge on the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and also upon Alexander, for the false dealings and ill usage he had received from both, he first laid siege to Ptolemais; and, leaving one part of his army there, for the carrying of it on, under the conduct of some of his chief commanders, he marched in person with the other part, to invade the territories of Alexander. At first he took Asochis, a city of Galilee, and in it ten thousand captives, with much plunder. After this, he laid siege to Sepphoris, another city of Galilee; whereon Alexander marched with an army of fifty thousand men against him for the defence of his country. This brought on a fierce battle between them, near the banks of the river Jordan; in which Alexander being vanquished, lost thirty thousand of his men, besides those which were taken prisoners. For Lathyrus, having gotten the victory, pursued it to the utmost. And there is a very cruel and barbarous act which is related to have been done by him at this time, that is, that coming with his army, in the evening after the victory, to take up his quarters in the adjoining villages, and finding them full of women and children, he caused them to be all slaughtered, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, and put into caldrons over the fire, to be boiled, as if for supper, that so he might leave an opinion in that country, that his men fed upon human flesh, and so create the greater dread and terrour of his army through all those parts. After this, Lathyrus ranged at liberty all over the country, ravaging, plun-

Anno 104.
Alexander
Janneus 2.

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 20, 21.

dering, and destroying it in a very lamentable manner. For Alexander, after this battle, and the cutting off of so many of his men as fell in it, was in no condition to resist him, but must have been absolutely undone, had not Cleopatra come the next year into those parts to relieve him.

For she, apprehending that, in case Lathyrus should make himself master of Judea and Phœnicia, he should thereby grow strong enough to invade Egypt, and there again recover his kingdom from her, thought it time to put a stop to his progress in those parts; and therefore she forthwith prepared an army,^x under the command of Chelkias and Ananias, the two Jews abovementioned, and, having equipped a fleet, put them on board of it, and sailed with them to Phœnicia; where having landed this army, and, by the terrour of it, made Lathyrus quit the siege of Ptolemais (which he had now continued,) and retire into Cœle-Syria, she sent Chelkias with one part of the army after him, and, putting the other under the leading of Ananias, marched with it to Ptolemais, expecting they would have opened their gates to her; but finding the contrary, she invested the place to take it by force. In the interim Chelkias, while he was pursuing Lathyrus in Cœle-Syria, lost his life in that expedition; which defeating the further progress of it, Lathyrus took the advantage hereof to march with all his forces into Egypt, hoping that, on his mother's absence with the best of her forces in Phœnicia, he might find that kingdom so unprovided to resist him, that he might make himself master of it: but he failed of his expectations herein.

For those forces, left there by Cleopatra for the security of the country,^x made good their ground so long, till, being joined by that part of the army which, on this attempt of Lathyrus, she sent back out of Phœnicia to reinforce them, they drove him out of the country, and forced him to return again into Palestine, and there take up his winter quarters at Gaza.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21.

Anno 103.
Alexander
Janneus 3.

Anno 102.
Alexander
Janneus 4.

But, while this was doing, Cleopatra still carried on the siege of Ptolemais,^x till at length she took the place. As soon as she was mistress of it, Alexander came thither to her, bringing with him many valuable gifts, to present to her for the gaining of her favour. But that which most ingratiated him with her, was his enmity with Lathyrus her son, and on this account he was very kindly received. But some about her, thinking she had now a fair opportunity, by seizing Alexander, to make herself mistress of Judea, and all other his dominions, earnestly pressed her to it. And this had been done, but that Ananias prevailed with her to the contrary: for, having represented unto her, how base and dishonourable a thing it would be thus to treat an ally engaged with her in the same cause, that it would be contrary to all the rules of faith and common honesty that are observed among mankind, and would, to the prejudice of her interest, set all the Jews in the world against her, and make them her enemies, he hereby wrought with her so effectually, that, partly on these considerations, and partly to gratify the intercessor, who pleaded hard in this case for his countryman and kinsman (for Alexander was both,) she dropped the design, and Alexander returned safe to Jerusalem; where having recruited his broken forces, and made them up again, to the number of a powerful army, he marched with them over Jordan, and besieged Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus^x having spent his winter at Gaza, after his retreat out of Egypt, and finding
 Anno 101. Alexander that it would be in vain for him to attempt
 Janneus 5. any thing more in Palestine, by reason of the opposition there made against him by his mother, he left that country, and returned again to Cyprus; whereon she also sailed back again into Egypt, and the country became freed of both of them.

Cleopatra, on her return to Alexandria,^z understanding that Lathyrus was carrying on a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus Cyzicenus, for the obtaining of his assistance, in order to another expedition into

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21.

^z Justin. lib. 39, c. 4.

Egypt, for his recovering of that kingdom again from her, she gave Selene her daughter, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus to wife, and with her sent to him a great number of auxiliaries, and large sums of money, to enable him to renew the war upon Cyzicenus his brother; whereon^a civil broils between them again breaking out, Cyzicenus was diverted thereby from giving any assistance to Lathyrus, and so the whole project became abortive. Ptolemy Alexander, her other son, then reigning with her,^b being much terrified with the unnatural and cruel usage with which she persecuted her other son, especially in thus taking from him his wife, and giving her to his enemy, and observing also that she stuck at nothing that stood in the way of her ambition, and the vehement desire she had of still reigning, thought himself not safe any longer with her; and therefore withdrew, and left the kingdom, choosing rather to live in banishment with safety, than to reign with so wicked and cruel a mother in the continual danger of his life. And it was not without great solicitation, that he was persuaded to return to her again; and she was forced thus to persuade him, because the people would not permit her to reign at all without one of her sons with the name of king reigning with her, and this name was all she allowed to either of them as long as she lived; for, after the death of Physcon, she usurped the whole regal power to herself, and that Lathyrus presumed to make use of some part of it without her, was the only cause that she drove him from her, took away his wife, and expelled him the kingdom.

This year Marius,^c in his fifth consulship, finished the Cymbrian war with the total destruction of that people, who threatened Rome and all Italy with no less than utter ruin. Marius commanded the Roman army through the last three years of this war, and having finished it with success, and thereby delivered Rome from that terrible invasion, and the great danger which it lay under from it, he was reckoned as the third founder

^a Livii Epitome, lib. 68.

^b Justin. lib. 39, c. 4.

^c Plutarchus in Mario. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 3.

of that city, Romulus and Camillus being the two former. Marius, while he carried on this war,^d first consecrated the eagle to be the sole Roman standard at the head of every legion; and hence it became the ensign of the Roman empire ever after. The country from whence these Cymbrians came, was the Cymbrica Chersonesus, the same which now contains Jutland, Sleswick, and Holstein. On their deserting this country, the Asæ,^e coming from between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, took possession of it, and from them came those Angli, who, with the Saxons, after having expelled the Britains, possessed themselves of that part of Great Britain which is now called England.

Alexander Janneus,^f having, after a siege of ten months, taken Gadara, marched from thence to Amathus, another fortress beyond Jordan; and it being the strongest in all those parts, Theodorus the son of Zeno Cotylas, prince of Philadelphia, there laid up his treasure. Alexander took this place in a much less time than he had Gadara, and with it made himself master of all that treasure. But Theodorus, having by that time gotten together a powerful army, fell suddenly upon him as he was returning from this conquest, and having on this surprise overthrown him, with the slaughter of ten thousand of his men, he not only recovered all his treasure again, but also took all Alexander's baggage with it. This sent Alexander back to Jerusalem with loss and disgrace, which was pleasing enough to many there. For the Pharisees, ever since Hyrcanus' quarrel with them, became enemies to all of his family, and to none more than to this Alexander; and these drawing the greatest part of the people after them, they infected the generality of them with disaffection and hatred to him, which was the cause of all those intestine troubles and difficulties which he fell into during his reign.

^d Formerly there were four other ensigns used by the Romans with the eagle, *i. e.* the minotaur, the horse, the wolf, and the boar. Marius abolished these four, and retained the eagle only to be the standard of every legion. Plinius, lib. 10, c. 4.

^e Videas Hiccesii Linguarum Septentrionalium Thesaurum in Epistola Dedicatoria, &c.

^f Joseph. lib. 13, c. 21.

However this loss and disgrace did not hinder him, but that, understanding, that, on Lathyrus' departure from Gaza, all that coast was left naked of defence,^g he marched thither with his army, and made himself master of Raphia and Anthedon, which being both within the distance of a few miles from Gaza, he in a manner blocked up that city hereby; and to do this was the main end of his seizing these two places. For the Gazeans having called in Lathyrus to their assistance against him, and helped him with auxiliaries in that fatal battle near Jordan, where he received so great an overthrow, he bore in his mind ever since a bitter grudge against them, and resolved, when opportunity should serve, to have his revenge on them for it. And therefore, As soon as his other affairs allowed him this opportunity,^h he marched with a great army against them for this purpose, and laid close siege to their city. They having for their chief commander a very valiant man, named Apollodotus, he defended the place against him a whole year; and in one sally which he had made upon him in the night, with twelve thousand of his men, he had like to have ruined him and all his army. For the assault then made upon his camp being pushed on with great briskness and resolution, a bruit ran through the Jewish army, that Ptolemy Lathyrus and all his forces were come to the assistance of the enemy, which damped their courage, and created a panic fear among them. But when the day light appeared, and made them see the contrary, they again rallied, and beat the Gazeans into their city with the slaughter of one thousand of their men.

But, notwithstanding this loss,ⁱ they still held out, and Apollodotus was in great credit and reputation among them for his wise and steady conduct in the defence of the place; which being envied by Lysimachus his own brother, the wretch treacherously slew him, and then, getting a company together, delivered up the city to Alexander, who, on his first entering into it, behaved himself as if

Anno 100.
Alexander
Janneus 6.

Anno 98.
Alexander
Janneus 8.

Anno 97.
Alexander
Janneus 9.

^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21.

^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21.

ⁱ Joseph. *ibid.*

he intended to have used his victory with moderation and clemency. But, when he was gotten into full possession of the place, he let loose his soldiers upon it, with a thorough license to kill, plunder, and destroy, which produced a scene of horrid barbarity. This Alexander did to have his revenge of these people for the reason mentioned; and he suffered not a little himself in the executing of it. For the Gazeans hereon standing to their defence, he lost almost as many of his own men in this carnage and sackage of the place as he slew of the enemy. However he had his mind so far, as to leave this ancient and famous city in utter ruin and desolation, and then returned again to Jerusalem, after having spent a full year in this war.

In this same year^k happened the death of Antiochus Grypus, being slain by the treachery of Heracleon, one of his own dependants, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his life. He left behind him five sons. 1. Seleucus, who was eldest succeeded him; the others were, 2. Antiochus, and 3. Philip, two twins; 4. Demetrius Eucherus; and 5. Antiochus Dionysius. All these reigned, or attempted to reign, in their turns.

Ptolemy Apion, the son of Physcon king of Egypt, to whom his father left the kingdom of Cyrene, dying without issue,^l gave that kingdom, by his last will and testament, to the Romans, who, instead of accepting it to themselves, gave all the cities their liberties, which immediately filled the countries with tyrants;^m those who were the potentest in every district endeavouring hereon to make themselves sovereigns of it, which brought upon that country great troubles and confusions. These were in some measure composed by Lucullus, on his coming thither in the first Mithridatic war, but could not finally be removed till that country was at length reduced into the form of a Roman province.

Antiochus Cyzicenus, on the death of Grypus,ⁿ seiz-

^k Joseph. lib. 13, c. 2. Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.

^l Epitome Livii, c. 70. Julius Obsequens de Prodigiiis.

^m Plutarch. in Lucullo.

ⁿ Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianus Scaligeri.

ed Antioch, and endeavoured to make himself master of the whole kingdom, to the exclusion of the sons of Grypus; but Seleucus, having gotten possession of many other cities, drew great forces after him, to make good his right to his father's dominions.

Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, of whom mention is made in the gospel of St. Luke (chap. ii, ver. 36,) was married to her husband, and from this time lived with him seven years, till, on his death, she became a widow.

Anno 95.
Alexander
Janneus 11.

Tigranes^o the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, being an hostage with the Parthians at the time of his father's death, was by them restored to his liberty, and settled in the succession of that kingdom, on his resigning to them some of the territories of it. This was done twenty-five years before his making war with the Romans in the cause of Mithridates; for so long, P Plutarch tells us, he had reigned in Armenia when that war began.

King Alexander, entering into the temple at Jerusalem, there to officiate as high priest in the feast of tabernacles,^q had a great affront and indignity there offered him by the people. For they, joining in a sort of mutiny against him, pelted him with citrons while he was offering the festival sacrifices on the great altar, calling him slave, and adding other opprobrious language, which implied him unworthy of being either high priest or king; which enraged him to that degree, that he fell upon them with his soldiers, and slew of them six thousand men. And, to secure him from suffering any more from them the like affront, he surrounded the court of the priests, within which were the altar and the temple, with a wooden partition, thereby to hinder the people from doing this any more to him. In calling him slave, they harped upon the old story of Eleazar, as if Hyrcanus' mother had been a slave taken in war. The truth of the matter was, Hyrcanus having quarrelled with the Pharisees on that occasion, and

^o Justin. lib. 38, c. 3. Appian. in Syriacis. Strabo, lib. 11, p. 532.

^p In Lucullo.

^q Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21.

abolished all their traditional constitutions, this whole sect hated him and all his family a long while after, and none of them more than Alexander. For he followed his father's steps in this matter, and would never readmit those constitutions, or give that party any favour as long as he reigned; but on the contrary, sat hard upon them on all occasions: which imbittered them so much against him, that, having a great influence over the people, they made use of it to set them against him, and render them disaffected to him to the utmost they were able; which created great troubles to Alexander during all his reign, and much greater mischief to the whole nation of the Jews, as will be seen in the future series of this history. The first instance hereof was, that Alexander, seeing the Jews in this temper, durst no more trust them with the safety of his person, but, instead of them,^r called in foreign mercenaries to be of his guard, choosing them out of the Pisidians and Cilicians, and not of the Syrians, whom he did not like; and of these he had^s six thousand always about him. This instance shews how dangerous a thing it is for any prince to have a powerful faction either in church or state disgusted against him; and the ill success which Alexander had in his endeavours to quiet this faction, shews the mistake which he made in his means of effecting it: for he made use only of rigour and severity, which operate in the body politic no otherwise than as opiates do in the body natural, which put a short stop to the disease, but never remove the cause; the truest method of cure in this case is, so to join severity and clemency together, that both may have their effect.

When Alexander had, by the terrour of his executions, in some measure laid the storm which
 Anno 94. Alexander
 Janneus 12. was raised against him at home,^s he marched out against his enemies abroad; and, having passed over Jordan, made war upon the Arabians, and having gotten the better of them in several conflicts, made the inhabitants of the land of Moab and of the land of Gilead to become tributaries to him.

^r Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3. Antiq. lib. 11, c. 21.

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 22; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

Seleucus growing powerful in Syria,^u Cyzicenus marched out of Antioch against him, but, being vanquished in battle, he was taken prisoner and put to death; whereon Seleucus made himself master of Antioch, and of the whole Syrian empire, but could not keep it long: for Antiochus Eusebes,^x the son of Cyzicenus, having, on Seleucus' taking Antioch, made his escape out of that place by the assistance of a courtesan that was in love with him, came to Aradus, and was there crowned king.

And,^y having there gotten his father's soldiers about him, and joined others to them that were attached to his interest, he made up a considerable army, and marched forth with it against Seleucus; and, having gotten a great victory over him, forced him to flee to Mopsuestia, a city in Cilicia, there to take refuge; where, having oppressed the inhabitants with great exactions, he provoked them so far hereby, that they rose in a general mutiny against him, and, besetting the house where he was, put fire to it, and there burned to death him and all there with him. Antiochus and Philip,^z the two twin sons of Grypus, for the revenging of this, forthwith marched with all the forces they could get together towards Mopsuestia; and, having taken the place, razed it to the ground, and sacrificed all that they found in it to the ghost of their slain brother. But, in their return from this exploit, being fallen upon by Eusebes near the Orontes, they were put to the rout; whereon Antiochus,^a endeavouring to swim the river with his horse for the making of his escape, was drowned in it. But Philip, making a safe retreat, kept many of his forces together, and soon recruited them again with others, so that, being enabled thereby still to keep the field, the whole contest was now between him and Eusebes for the whole Syrian empire; and each of them, hav-

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21; Trugi Prolog. 40. Porphyr. in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.

^x Appian, in Syriacis. Joseph. & Porphyr. ibid.

^y Joseph. Appian. & Porphyrus. ibidem.

^z Porphyrus, ibid.

^a Porphyr. in Græcis Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21.

Anno 93.
Alexander
Janneus 13.

ing great armies on foot, miserably harassed and wasted that country in their wars about it.

In the interim,^b Alexander, pursuing the good success which he had in the last year's expedition beyond Jordan, carried on the war further on that side, and invaded the territories of Theodorus, the son of Zeno Cotylas, prince of Philadelphia. His chief design in this war was to take from him the strong fortress of Amathus and his treasure there deposited; both which Alexander had taken eight years before, and Theodorus recovered again, as hath been above related. But at this time Alexander's name was grown so terrible, by reason of his many late successes in those parts, that Theodorus durst not stand his coming, but carrying off his treasure, withdrew his garrison and deserted the place; whereon Alexander took it without opposition, and razed it to the ground.

Eusebes, the more to strengthen himself in the kingdom,^c had married Selene, the relict of Grypus. She being an active woman, had taken possession of some part of the Syrian empire on her husband's death, and had gotten forces about her to maintain her in it. Eusebes, to join this interest of hers to his own, married her; which offending Lathyrus (whose wife she had first been, till his mother took her from him and gave her in marriage to Grypus,) he sent to Cnidus,^d where Demetrius Eucherius, the fourth son of Grypus, had been placed for his education, and, having fetched him from thence, made him king of Damascus. Eusebes and Philip being engaged against each other, neither of them could be at liberty to hinder this; for although Eusebes received great accession to his strength by marrying Selene, yet Philip made good his part against him, and,^e at length having drawn him to a decisive battle, gave him a total overthrow, which forced him to flee into Parthia for his safety; whereon Philip and Demetrius became possessed of the whole Syrian empire between them.

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

^c Appian. in Syriacis.

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21.

^e Porphy. in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri. Euseb. in Chron.

In the interim,^f Alexander, king of Judea, making an expedition into Gaulonitis, a country lying on the east side of the lake Gennesareth, and there engaging in a war against Obedas, an Arabian king, was drawn by him into an ambush, wherein he lost most of his army, and hardly himself escaped. On his return to Jerusalem in this case, the Jews, who were before too much embittered against him, being now further exasperated by this loss, rose in a rebellion against him, hoping in this his weak condition, soon to compass his destruction, which they had long earnestly desired; but Alexander being a man of application and courage, and more than a common understanding, soon got together forces sufficient to oppose them. This produced a civil war between Alexander and his people, which lasted six years, and brought great calamities upon both.

Mithridates Eupator king of Pontus,^g on the death of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, having murdered his sons which that prince left behind him, (though born of Laodice his own sister,) and usurped Cappadocia to himself, placed a minor son of his own (whom he called Ariarathes) over that kingdom, with one Gordius for a tutor to manage the government for him. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, fearing lest Mithridates, with this accession to his dominions, should grow too powerful for him, and swallow him next, suborned a youth to take upon him to be the third son of Ariarathes; and, having gained Laodice to own him, sent them both to Rome, there to lay claim to the kingdom of his pretended father for him. This having brought the cause before the senate, they condemned the claims of both,^h that of Mithridates, as well as that of the pretender, and decreed, that the Cappadocians should become a free people; but they refusing this grant, and declaring that they could not subsist without a king, the senate ordered them to choose whom they liked best; whereon they having elected Ariobarzanes, a noble Cappadocian,ⁱ Sylla was

Anno 91.
Alexander
Janneus 15.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

^g Justin. lib. 58, c. 1, 2.

^h Justin. ibid. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 540.

ⁱ Plutarch. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

sent with a commission to put him in possession, which he accordingly executed this year: Mithridates did not oppose him herein, but this excited in him that disgust against the Romans, which, being afterwards heightened by other provocations, mutually given and retorted, at length produced the Mithridatic war, which, next that against the Carthaginians, was the longest and the most dangerous war that ever the Roman state was engaged in.

For although Mithridates, on this procedure, suppressed his resentments for the present, yet from this time he resolved to make war upon the Romans for the revenging of it. In order hereto,^k having contracted an alliance with Tigranes king of Armenia, by giving him Cleopatra his daughter to wife, he drew him into a confederacy with him for the making of this war; whereby it was agreed between them, that Mithridates should have all the cities and countries, and Tigranes all the persons, treasure, and moveable goods, that should be taken in it. The first effect of this confederacy was,^l Tigranes expelling Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, whom the Romans had put in possession of that kingdom, brought back Ariarathes the son of Mithridates there again to reign. And^m at the same time Nicomedes king of Bithynia dying, Mithridates seized that kingdom, to the exclusion of Nicomedes, the son of the deceased. This sent both the deprived kings to the Romans for their relief, who having decreed their restoration, sent Manius Aquilius and Marcus Altinus to see it executed.

But Mithridates permitting neither of them to enjoy quiet possession when restored, all the Roman forces then dispersed through the several parts of Lesser Asia gathering together,ⁿ formed themselves into three armies; the first under the command of L. Cassius, who had the government of the Pergamenian province of Asia; the second under Manius Aquilius; and the third under Quintus Opus, proconsul of Pamphylia, having, in each body, forty

^k Justin. lib. 38, c. 3.

^l Justin lib. 38, c. 3. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^m Justin. & Appian. *ibid.* Memnon in Excerptis Photii, c. 32.

ⁿ Appian. in Mithridaticis.

thousand men, horse and foot; and with these they began the war, without tarrying for any orders from Rome for it. But,^o managing it with bad conduct and much neglect, they had the ill success to be all vanquished and broken; and Aquilius^o and Opius, being made prisoners, were first treated with the utmost indignity, and afterwards with equal cruelty tortured to death. Hereon^o all the cities and provinces of Lesser Asia, and also several of the cities of Greece, and all the islands of the Egean sea, excepting only Rhodes, revolted from the Romans, and declared for Mithridates.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt,^p being weary of her son Alexander, and the joint authority which he held with her in the government of the kingdom, laid designs against his life, that so, being rid of him, she might reign alone, and have the whole regal power in her own hands. But Alexander, having notice of it, prevented the plot, and, by cutting her off first, made it all turn upon her own head. She was a monstrous wicked woman, as her actions above related sufficiently shew, and well deserved this death, had it come from any other hands, than those of her own son. As soon as the Alexandrians found, that the mother died by the parricide of the son, they could no longer bear him; but, having driven him into banishment, sent to Cyprus for Ptolemy Lathyrus, and restored to him the kingdom, which he held afterwards without interruption,^q to the end of his life. Alexander, the next year after,^r having gotten some ships together to attempt a return in them, was encountered at sea by Tyrrhus, Ptolemy's admiral, and, being vanquished by him, escaped to Myra in Lysia; from whence afterwards sailing towards Cyprus, for the executing of

^o Appian. *ibid.* Epitome Livii, lib. 77, 78. Athenæus, lib. 5. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 562. Memnon, c. 33. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5. Plinius, lib. 33, c. 3. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 18. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 400.

^p Justin. lib. 39, c. 4. Euseb. in Chronico. Pausanias in Atticis. Athenæus, lib. 12, p. 550.

^q Ptolemy the astronomer reckons to his reign the whole time from his father's death to his own, that is, thirty-six years, though he lived half of them in banishment.

^r Porphy. in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.

some design which he had upon that island, he was met by Chereas, another sea commander of Ptolemy's, and, being overborne by him, perished in the fight.

While these things were a doing in Lesser Asia and Egypt,^s the civil war went on in Judea between Alexander and his people. And, although he had the better of them in all encounters, yet he could not bring them to submit, or put any stop to these intestine troubles, so much were they enraged against him. Being weary of punishing and destroying them, he made earnest application to them for the composing of the differences that were between them. In order hereto, he offered to grant them any thing that they should in reason desire; and therefore bid them ask what they would have. To this they answered all with one voice,^s that he should cut his throat; that they would on no other terms be at peace with him; and it were well, they said, if they could then be reconciled to him after he was in his grave, considering the great mischiefs he had done them. And therefore, having their minds to so high a degree thus exasperated against him, they resolved to go on with the war without hearkening to any terms of reconciliation whatsoever. And, because they wanted sufficient forces of their own to act up to the anger and rage which, in their answer to Alexander, they had expressed against him, they^u sent to Damascus to call Demetrius Eucherus (who then reigned there) to their assistance; who thereon came into Judea with an army consisting of three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, Syrians and Jews. Alexander, encountering him with six thousand Greek mercenaries, and twenty thousand Jews, was overthrown with so great a slaughter, that he lost all his Greek mercenaries to a man, and the greatest part of his other forces; whereon he was driven with the poor remnants of his broken army that survived this terrible blow, to flee to the mountains, where he might, by the advantage of the situation, best protect himself in this shattered case. And now he had been utterly ruined, but that he was re-

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21, de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 22, de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

lieved by a very extraordinary and unexpected turn of fortune; for those very men, who were before so much embittered against him, that they had called in a foreign enemy upon him, and had joined that enemy in battle against him, when they saw him reduced to this distressed condition, took such compassion of him, that six thousand of them immediately went over to him. Whereon Demetrius, fearing the like revolt of the rest, departed out of Judea, and shortly after marched into Syria against his brother Philip, and, having driven him out of Antioch, and taken that city from him, he pursued him to Berrhea, now called Aleppo, and there besieged him. Whereon Straton, prince of the place, and friend to Philip, called thither Zizus, an Arabian king, and Mithridates Sinaces, a Parthian commander, to his assistance; who having vanquished Demetrius, and taken him prisoner, sent him for a present to Mithridates, king of Parthia,^x where a little after he fell sick and died. Philip, after this victory, releasing all the Antiochians that were taken prisoners in this defeat, and sending them home without ransom, this so far ingratiated him with that city, that, on his return again thither, he was received with the general acclamation of the people, and for some time he reigned there over all Syria without a competitor.

Alexander, after the retreat of Demetrius, having gotten together another army,^y made good his part against the rebel Jews, notwithstanding his late loss, and vanquished them in all conflicts. However, he could bring them to no terms of peace; but they still carried on the war with the same rage and fury against him, without being in the least discouraged by any loss, baffle, or defeat, that happened to them.

Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, becoming a widow on the death of her husband, without

^x This Mithridates seems to be the same who, according to Justin. lib. 42, c. 2, was called Mithridates the Great; and, having succeeded Artabanus his father in the kingdom of Parthia, A. D. 128, was now in the fortieth year of his reign. To him succeeded Sinatrux, and, after Sinatrux, Phraates his son A. D. 67.

^y Joseph. lib. 13, c. 21, de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

Anno 88.
Alexander
Janneus 18.

marrying any more,^z devoted herself wholly to the service of God, and exercised herself constantly in it, for the space of eighty-four years, during all which time she departed not from the temple, but there served God with fasting and prayers night and day.

Mithridates finding that the Romans and Italians, who were then on several occasions in Lesser Asia, and there dispersed through all the provinces and cities of that country, did underhand carry on the Roman interest in the places where they resided, to the great obstruction of his designs,^a sent secret orders to all the governours of provinces, and magistrates of cities, through all Lesser Asia, to put them all to death in one and the same day that he had appointed for it; which was accordingly executed with that rigour, that no less than eighty thousand, say some, nearly double that number, say others, of Romans and Italians were then massacred in that country.

After this, Mithridates hearing, that there was a great treasure at Coos, sent thither, and laid his hand upon it. Cleopatra queen of Egypt, when she went with an army into Phœnicia against Lathyrus her son, sent^b to this place her grandson Alexander the son of Alexander, who then reigned with her in Egypt, and with him a great sum of money, with her jewels and all her most precious things, there to be deposited as a reserve against all events. All this^c Mithridates seized, and with it^d the sum of eight hundred talents more, which the Jews of Lesser Asia had there deposited, in order to be sent to Jerusalem, for the securing of it from the rapines of the war which they saw was coming upon that country. The treasure of

^z Luke ii, 36, 37. Her serving God at the temple day and night, is to be understood no otherwise, than that she constantly attended the morning and evening sacrifices at the temple, and then with great devotion offered up her prayers to God; the time of the morning and evening sacrifice being the solemnest time of prayer among the Jews, and the temple the solemnest place for it.

^a Epitome Livii, lib. 78. L. Florus, lib. 3. c. 5. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Cicero in Orationibus pro Lege Manilia & pro Flacco. Memnon, c. 33. Velleius Patere. lib. 2, c. 18. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 2. Eutrop. lib. 5. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9, c. 2. Plutarchus in Sylla. Dion Cassius, legat. 36.

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 21; lib. 14, c. 12. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^c Appian. in Mithridaticis, & de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 12.

^d Joseph. *ibid.*

Cleopatra there deposited truly belonging to young Alexander her grandson, Mithridates, on his seizing of it, did not wholly neglect him, but took him into his care,^e and gave him a princely education, and we shall ere long again hear of him.

Mithridates having thus made himself master of all Lesser Asia,^f sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece, who, having seized Athens, made that the chief seat of his residence, for the carrying on of the war in those parts; and, while he lay there, he drew over to him most of the cities and states of Greece for the embracing of the interest of Mithridates.

And in this state Sylla,^g now sent from Rome to carry on this war against Mithridates, found matters on his arrival in Greece; and therefore, in the first place, he laid siege to Athens, and after having spent several months in it, at last took the place about the end of the year.

Anno 87.
Alexander
Janneus 19.

The Parthians seem this year, on the death of Demetrius Eucherus, to have brought back Antiochus Eusebes into Syria, and to have there put him again in possession of some part of his former dominions. For, first, that he came back from Parthia (whither he had fled when vanquished by Philip,) and reigned again in Syria, is certain. For^h it was to be delivered from the calamities of the civil war, with which the Seleucidæ afflicted Syria in their contentions for the crown, that the Syrians called in Tigranes, as will be hereafter shewn. But at that time there were no other of them to make this contention, but Philip and Eusebes only, all the rest being then dead: and that Tigranes found Eusebes in possession of some part of Syria, on his coming thither, appears from Appian; for he tells us more than once,ⁱ that this Eusebes, being then expelled out of Syria, fled into an obscure corner of Cilicia,

^e Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^f Plutarch. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Epitome Livii, lib. 78. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 2.

^g Ibidem, & Epitome Livii, lib. 81.

^h Justin. lib. 40, c. 1.

ⁱ In Syriacis & in Mithridaticis.

and there lay hid, till, after Lucullus' victory over Tigranes, he returned again into Syria. And, secondly, that it was by the assistance of the Parthians, that he came back again into Syria, seems most probable; because, he having fled to them as friends, they are the most likely, as friends, to have given him this assistance; and they lay the most convenient to afford it, the kingdom of Syria being bounded by the banks of the Euphrates on the one side of that river, and the territories of the Parthians reaching to those of the other side,^k and without some such powerful assistance he could not again have recovered any part of his former dominions. But, by what assistance soever he returned, Philip seems at this time to be engaged to oppose him. But while he was thus employed in the northern parts of Syria, for the keeping out of one rival, another started up against him in the southern. For^l Antiochus Dionysius his brother, the youngest of the five sons of Grypus, taking the advantage of his being thus otherwise engaged, seized on Damascus, and there, making himself king of Cœle-Syria, reigned over it in that place for the space of about three years.

While these wars were thus carrying on in Greece and Syria, Alexander Janneus was as deeply engaged in war with his own people. But,^m having now driven it to a decisive battle, he gave them such a terrible blow, as soon brought those troubles to a conclusion: for, having cut off the major part of them in the rout, and driven the chief of those that survived into Bethome, he shut up that place all round, and there closely besieged them.

And the next year afterⁿ having succeeded in this siege, and taken the city, and all those in it that had fled thither for refuge, he carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and there caused them to be crucified all together in one day, and their wives and children to be there slain before

^k The Parthians had at this time all Mesopotamia from the Tigris to the Euphrates.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 12; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 22; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 3.

ⁿ Joseph. *ibid.*

their face, while they hung dying on the crosses on which they were crucified; which was a severity never to be justified, had there been any other way whereby to have brought that rebellious faction to reason. While this was doing, Alexander made a treat for his wives and concubines near the place where this scene of terrour was acting, and to feast himself and them with the sight hereof was the main part of the entertainment. From hence Alexander had the name of Thracidas, that is, the Thracian, those people being then above all others infamous for their bloody and barbarous cruelties. And indeed there could no name be invented for him bad enough, to express so inhuman a procedure. However it had its effect; for all the remainder of the rebel party, being terrified with the horror hereof, fled the country: and after this Alexander had no more disturbance at home, to the day of his death. And thus ended this furious rebellion, after it had lasted six years, and had cost the lives of^o above fifty thousand men of the rebel faction.

And this same year was no less fatal to the cause and armies of Mithridates, than it was to the rebel Jews;^p for, though he had sent into Greece, under the command of Archelaus, one hundred and twenty thousand men, and, under the command of Taxiles, another of his generals, and brother of Archelaus, one hundred and ten thousand, and, after that, eighty thousand more, under the command of Dorylaus, in all three hundred and ten thousand men, numbers enough to have borne all before them, would numbers alone have carried the cause; yet Sylla, with a Roman army, only of fifteen hundred horse, and fifteen thousand foot, vanquished them all in three different battles: the first of which was fought at Chæronea, and the other two at Orchomenus, in which battles he is said to have slain one hundred and sixty thousand of them; and thereby he forced all the rest of them to flee out of Greece.

^o Joseph. Antiq. ibid.

^p Plutarch. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Epitome Livii, lib. 82. Memnon, c. 34. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 2. Eutropius, lib. 5. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5.

And the next year after, Mithridates was as much distressed in Asia; for Fimbria,^q who there commanded another Roman army, having vanquished the best remainder of his forces, pursued those that fled as far as Pergamus, where Mithridates himself then resided, and having driven him from thence to Patana, a maritime city of Ætolia, followed him thither, and, laying siege to the place, blocked it up closely by land, but, not having any ships to shut it up by sea, a passage there still lay open: whereon Fimbria sent to Lucullus, who was then in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, to come thither, and, would he have done so, Mithridates must necessarily have been taken; but Fimbria being of a contrary faction in the state, he would have nothing to do with him; and so Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and from thence got clear out of their hands, to the great damage of the Roman interest. And the like often happens, wherever the ministers and officers of the government are divided into different factions: for such frequently study, in their several stations, more to gratify their envy, their piques, and their malice against each other, than to serve the public interest of their country, and thereby often make the best projects miscarry, that so they may obstruct the honour, or work the disgrace of those that are entrusted with the executing of them. And there is scarce any state now in being which cannot give many instances hereof, and none more than our own.

But although Mithridates thus made his escape, yet it conduced to the putting an end to this war: for, ^r being terrified with the danger he had so narrowly got clear of, and the many losses he had suffered, he sent to Archelaus on any terms to make peace with Sylla; whereon Sylla and Archelaus, meeting in the isle of Delos, agreed, that Mithridates should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and all else to the Romans, which he had taken from

^q Plutarch. in Lucullo. Memnon, c. 36. Livii Epitome, lib. 83. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 2.

^r Plutarch. in Sylla & Lucullo. Epitome Livii, lib. 83. Dion Cassius, legat. 34, 35. Appian. in Mithridaticis & de Bellis Civil. lib. 1. Velleius Paternulus, lib. 2, c. 23.

them since the war begun, and be content only with his paternal kingdom of Pontus; and that he should pay three thousand talents to the Romans for the charges of the war, and yield to them seventy of his ships; and that on these terms peace should be granted; and, all past acts of hostility being forgotten, Mithridates should be received into the number of the friends and allies of the Roman state. And Sylla and Mithridates, having afterwards had a meeting at Troas in Asia, there ratified and confirmed these articles on both sides; and thereon the peace was published and declared. Sylla would never have consented to make this peace, but that the divisions of the Romans at home, and the civil wars there commenced, made his return into Italy then absolutely necessary for the appeasing of them. This made Sylla as desirous of ending the war as Mithridates himself, who had suffered most by it. And therefore Sylla, having received the seventy ships, and the three thousand talents above-mentioned, and mulcted the states and cities of Asia in the sum of twenty thousand talents, to be paid in five years time, returned into Italy, to make war with the Marian faction, which was there at this time predominant; but what he did therein, doth not belong to my purpose to relate.

But one thing I cannot here omit, that is,^s that it was by his means, that the works of Aristotle were preserved, and afterwards made public, for the benefit of the learned world. Aristotle, at his death, left them to Theophrastus: he, on his death, bequeathed them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city near Pergamus in Asia; and, on Neleus' death, they fell to his heirs; who, being men of no learning, only kept them locked up in a chest. But, when the Pergamenian kings, under whose jurisdiction Scepsis was, made diligent search for all sorts of books, for the filling up of their library at Pergamus, they, fearing that those books might be taken from them, for the preventing of it, hid them in a vault under ground, where they lay buried for about one hundred and thirty years, till at length

^s Plutarch. in Sylla. Strabo, lib. 13, p. 609. Stanley's History of Philosophy, p. 6, in the Life of Aristotle, c. 16.

Apellico, a rich citizen of Athens, being on the hunt after all sorts of books for the making him a library, the heirs of Neleus, to whom through several generations these books were then descended, being reduced to poverty, took them up out of the place where they had been hid, and sold them to him. But these books, by the length of time, and the moisture of the place where they lay, being so damnified and rotten, that they could scarce hang together, Apellico caused copies of them to be written out; and, in the writing out of them, many chasms being found in the original (in some places letters, and in some others whole words, and sometimes several of them together, being either eaten out by worms, or rotted out by time and wet,) these chasms were in many places supplied by conjecture, and sometimes very unskilfully, which hath caused difficulties in those books ever since. Apellico being dead a little before Sylla came to Athens, he seized his library, and with it these works of Aristotle, and, carrying it to Rome, there added it to his own library. One Tyrannion,^t a famous grammarian of those times, then residing at Rome, being desirous to have these works of Aristotle, obtained leave of Sylla's library-keeper to write them out. This copy he communicated to Andronicus Rhodius, who, from that copy, first made these works of Aristotle public; and to him it is that the learned world is beholden, that it hath ever since enjoyed the very valuable writings of this great philosopher.

While Antiochus Dionysius,^u king of Damascus, was making war upon Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, Philip his brother took the advantage of it to seize Damascus, which he got into by the help of Milesius, the captain of the castle. But Philip not rewarding

^t This Tyrannion was a citizen of Amisus in Pontus. Being there taken prisoner, when Lucullus reduced that place, he was released merely for the sake of his eminent learning. After this, going to Rome, he had there the patronage of M. Cicero, and read lectures publicly in his own house, and there took care of his library, and did set it in due order. And, soon after growing very rich, he got together a very great library of his own, consisting of above thirty thousand volumes; and he procured this copy of Aristotle's works to be set among them. Concerning all this, see Cicero's Epistle's lib. 2. epist. 4. lib. 4. ad Atticum epist. 4. & epist. 8. Plutarch. in Sylla & in Lucullo. Strabo, lib. 13, p. 608. & Suidas in voce *Τυραννίων*.

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 23; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

him as he expected, he took the opportunity of his next going abroad for his diversion to shut the gates against him, and kept the city for Antiochus; and, on his return out of Arabia (from whence he immediately hasted, on his hearing of this invasion,) restored it to him again. Hereon Philip retreating, Antiochus made another expedition against Aretas, taking his way through Judea; and that part of the country that lay between Joppa and Antipatris being the only passage which he could have for his army that way, Alexander, being jealous of his intentions, drew lines between those two places of the length of twenty of our miles, to obstruct him, and fortified them with a wall and wooden towers placed at a convenient distance from each other. But this proved of no effect for the end proposed; for Antiochus, on his approach, set fire to these towers, and, burning them down, broke through the lines, and passed on into Arabia; but, being there surprised and taken at a disadvantage by Aretas, he was slain in the battle, and most of his forces were cut off with him; and the rest that escaped had no better fate: for having, after their flight, gotten into a village called Cana, they there all perished for want of bread; whereon Aretas became king of Coele-Syria, not by conquest, after this victory, but by the election and call of the people of Damascus, in opposition to Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, prince of Chalcis, in their neighbourhood. It seems he would have served himself of the opportunity offered by the death of Antiochus to have seized that government; but the people of Damascus, having an utter aversion to him, rather than have him, chose to call in Aretas, and made him their king; and, as soon as he was settled in that sovereignty, he made an expedition into Judea against Alexander, and had the better of him in a battle near Addida; but afterwards a treaty being commenced between them, all further hostilities were superseded by an agreement of peace.

Many places on the borders of Arabia having revolted from Alexander while he was engaged in his wars with his rebel subjects, he being now at leisure from all other embarrass-

Anno 84.
Alexander
Janneus 22.

ments,^u marched over Jordan again to reduce them, and, after having taken Pella and Dia, he sat down before Gerasa, to which place Theodorus, the son of Zeno, had removed his treasure, on his deserting Amathus, as hath been above related. When Alexander took Pella, he destroyed the place, and drove the inhabitants into banishment, because they refused to embrace the Jewish religion, it being the usage of the Asmonean princes to impose their religion upon all their conquests, leaving to the conquered no other choice, but either to turn Jews, or else to have their habitations demolished, and be forced to go seek new dwellings elsewhere.

On Sylla's departure for Italy, Murena, whom he left in the government of Asia,^x renewed the war again with Mithridates without a sufficient cause for it, which lasted three years; at the end whereof Sylla (being then dictator of Rome,) disliking the proceedings of Murena,^y recalled him, and resettled again with Mithridates the same articles of peace which he had formerly made with him; and so ended the second Mithridatic war. However,^z Murena, on his return, triumphed for his exploits in it.

The Syrians, being weary of the continual wars made in their country between the princes of the race of Seleucus for the sovereignty of it, and not being able any longer to bear the devastations, slaughters, and other calamities which they suffered hereby,^a resolved to fling them all off at once, and call in some foreign prince to rule over them, who might deliver them from these miseries, and settle the country in peace. And accordingly they fixed upon Tigranes, king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to notify it unto him; whereon,^b coming into Syria on this call, he took possession of that kingdom, and there reigned eighteen years,^c the first four-

Anno 83.
Alexander
Janneus 23.

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 23; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

^x Appian. in Mithridaticis. Plutarch. in Sylla. Epitome Livii, lib. 86. Memnon, c. 38.

^y Cicero in Oratione pro Lege Manilia.

^z Cicero pro Murena.

^a Justin. lib. 40, c. 1.

^b Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. ibid.

^c Justin. lib. 40, c. 1, 2.

teen^d of which he governed it by Megadates his lieutenant, till at length he recalled him to his assistance against the Romans.

On Tigranes' thus taking possession of the kingdom of Syria, Eusebes fled into Cilicia, and there^e lay hid in an obscure place of that country (among the fastnesses, it may be supposed, of Mount Taurus,) till he died. What became of Philip is no where said. It is most likely he was slain by Tigranes in some oppositions he made against him, on his first coming into that country. Porphyry^f indeed makes mention of both these princes as in being near thirty years after; but that Porphyry was mistaken herein will be hereafter shewn in its proper place. But Selene,^g the wife of Eusebes, still retained Ptolemais, with some parts of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, and there reigned for many years after, and was thereby enabled to give a royal education to her two sons,^h the eldest of which was called Antiochus Asiaticus,ⁱ and the other Seleucus Sybiosactes.^k

Alexander Janneus,^l enlarging his conquests beyond Jordan, took Gaulana, Seleucia, and several other places in those parts.

And the next year after¹ he made himself master of the valley of Antiochus and the strong fortress of Gamala. One Demetrius was still then master of these places; but there being many grievous misdemeanors laid to his charge, Alexander deprived him of his principality, and carried him prisoner with him to Jerusalem, where he returned at the end of this year, after having been absent from it three years on this expedition; and, by reason of his successes in it, he was there received with great acclamations. After this, enjoying full ease, he gave himself up to luxury and drunkenness, where-

^d Appian. in Syriacis.

^e Appian. *ibid.* Plutarch. in Pompeio.

^f In Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

^g Cicero in Verrem, lib. 4, c. 27. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24.

^h He was called Asiaticus, because he was educated in Asia. See Appian. in Syriacis.

^k Strabo, lib. 17, p. 796.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 23; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

Anno 82.
Alexander
Janneus 24.

by he contracted a quartan ague, which he could never get rid of as long as he lived, but died of it three years after.

Ptolemy Lathyrus,ⁿ having for three years laid siege to Thebes in the Upper Egypt, at length took the place. For they had rebelled against him, and, being beaten out of the field, were shut up within their walls, and there forced to bear this siege, till they were thereby now again reduced. Lathyrus, on his taking the place, handled it so severely for this rebellion, that, from being the greatest and wealthiest city in Egypt, he reduced it to so low a condition, that it never after any more made a figure. And not long after this he died,^o having reigned, from the time of the death of his father, thirty-six years, of which he reigned eleven with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. He was succeeded by Cleopatra, his daughter, and only legitimate child. Her proper name was Berenice, and so Pausanias^p calls her; for it is to be noted, that, as all the males of this family had the common name of Ptolemy, so all the females of it had that of Cleopatra, and besides had other proper names to distinguish them from each other; thus, Selene^q was called Cleopatra, and so were also two other of her sisters. And, in like manner, this daughter of Lathyrus, whose proper name was Berenice, bore also that of Cleopatra, according to the usage of her family. The observing of this will remove many obscurities and difficulties in the Egyptian history.

Alexander,^r the son of that Alexander, king of Egypt, who murdered his mother, being sent into Egypt, by Sylla, to succeed in the kingdom, after the death of Lathyrus his uncle, as next heir to him of the male line, there claimed the

ⁿ Pausanias in Atticis, *ibid.* Thebas Bæotias pro Thebis Ægyptiis ex errore ponit.

^o Pausanias, *ibid.* Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri. Ptolemæus Astronomus in Canone.

^p In Atticis.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24.

^r Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 1. Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.

crown. But the Alexandrians having put Cleopatra on the throne, and she having now sat on it six months before his arrival, to compromise the matter, and avoid displeasing Sylla, who, as perpetual dictator, at this time absolutely governed the Roman state, it was agreed, that Cleopatra should be given to him to wife, and that they should both reign jointly together. But Alexander, either not liking the lady, or else not liking to have a partner in the government,^s at nineteen days end after the marriage put her to death, and then reigned alone fifteen years. I have before related, how this Alexander had been sent by queen Cleopatra, his grandmother, to Coos, there to be educated; and how Mithridates there took him with all the treasure which his grandmother sent thither with him. After this,^t having made his escape from Mithridates, he fled to Sylla; who, receiving him kindly, took him into his protection, and carried him with him to Rome, and from thence, on this occasion, sent him to take possession of the kingdom of Egypt; and there, for fear of Sylla, he was accordingly received into it.

Alexander Janneus,^u being still afflicted with the quartan ague, and hoping, that, by stirring and exercise, he might wear it off, marched with his army over Jordan, and besieged Ragaba, a castle in the country of the Gerasens; but, by his labouring herein, having, instead of alleviating the distemper, exasperated it to a greater height, he died of it in the camp. At his death^x he left two sons behind him, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to Alexandra his wife, during her life, and afterwards, to which of these her two sons she should think fit to dispose of it to. Alexandra being then with him at this siege,^u on her finding him in a dying condition, was exceedingly troubled at the ill state which she feared she and her children

Anno 79.
Alexander
Janneus 27.

^s Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri. He there saith, that this Alexander was for this murderous fact slain by the Alexandrians; and Appian, in the place last cited, saith the same: but this is a mistake, for he reigned fifteen years after, as will be hereafter shewn.

^t Appian de Bellis Civilibus lib. 1: Porphyri in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 23; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

should be left in at his death. She knew how much he had exasperated the Pharisees, then a powerful sect and party in the Jewish nation, and how great hatred, at their instigation, the generality of the people had contracted against them; and therefore saw nothing else that she had to expect on Alexander's death, but that they would, for the wreaking of their revenge against him, fall upon her, and his children by her, and destroy the whole family; and hereon she made great lamentation to him as she sat by his bed-side, where he lay a dying. To ease her mind from those dismal apprehensions, he gave her those directions, which he assured her, if duly followed, would extricate her out of all this danger, and secure both safety and tranquility to her and her family. For his advice was, that she should conceal his death till the castle should be taken, and then lead back the army to Jerusalem in triumph for this success, carrying thither with her his dead corpse, and that, as soon as she should be there arrived, she should call together to her the chief of the Pharisaic sect, and, acquainting them of her husband's death, should lay the dead corpse before them, and tell them, that she resigned it wholly to their pleasure, either to be cast forth with ignominy, in revenge for what they had suffered from him, or otherwise to be disposed of as they should think fit; and that then she should promise them, that she should follow their advice in all matters of the government, and do nothing therein, but what should be agreeable to their sentiments, and according to their directions. Do, said he, but follow this advice, and you shall not only gain me an honourable funeral, but also both for you and your children a safe settlement in the government: and so it accordingly happened. For, on taking the castle, she returned to Jerusalem in the manner as directed, and then calling together to her the leading men of the Pharisaic sect, she did and said to them, as her dying husband had advised, taking especial care to assure them, that she would put the administration of the government, and the prime direction of all the affairs of it, again into their hands; which promise sweetened them to such a degree, that, immediately laying aside all that hatred to the dead

king, which they had to the utmost contracted against him while living, they turned it into veneration and respect for his memory, and, instead of those invectives which formerly their mouths had been full of against him, they made encomiums upon him, magnifying his great exploits in enlarging their dominions, and increasing thereby the power, honour, and interest of the nation; whereby they so far reconciled the people to him, whom before, on all occasions, they had exasperated against him, that hereupon he was buried with a more sumptuous and honourable funeral than had been made before for any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to his will, was safely settled in the supreme government of the nation.

As soon as matters were thus composed, and Alexandra thoroughly fixed on the throne, she made her eldest son Hyrcanus high priest,^z he being then about thirty-three years old,^a and, according to her promise, did put the prime management and administration of her affairs into the hands of the Pharisees. The first thing they did was,^b to procure that decree of John Hyrcanus to be revoked, whereby, in the latter end of his government, he had caused all their traditionary constitutions to be abolished, and which till now had been ever since severely executed, to the great grief and mortification of this sect. But, by this revocation, the traditions being again restored to their former credit, and the Pharisees to their full liberty again, to impose and propagate them, they grew to that bulk which I have already mentioned, and that people have ever since been so enslaved to them, that they have, for their sake, even abolished and made of none effect the very written word itself, of which they are pretended to contain the explication. Next this they released all out of prison who had been committed thither for being concerned with them in the late civil wars, and called home from banishment all such who, for the same cause,

Anno 78.
Alexandra 1.

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 23; lib. 20, c. 8.

^a For Hyrcanus being past eighty at the time of his death, must have been at least thirty-three at the time when his father died, and he was therein made high priest after him.

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 23; lib. 20, c. 8.

had been forced to flee their country, and restored to them again their former possessions; and hereby much increased both the number and strength of their party.

Tigranes having built a large new city in Armenia, which from his own name he called *Tigranocerta*, that is, *The city of Tigranes*,^c he, by the instigation of Mithridates, invaded Cappadocia, and carried thence three hundred thousand of the inhabitants of that country to people with them this city, and other parts of his dominions, which wanted inhabitants; and in most other places where he made any conquests, he practised the same thing, carrying away the inhabitants into his own country, to make it the more populous, and assigning them lands for their cultivation, sufficient for each man's support. And he is said to have demolished twelve Grecian cities in Lesser Asia, for the peopling of Tigranocerta only, besides what he did elsewhere for the same purpose. For he transplanted thither great numbers from Assyria, Adiebene, Gordiana, and other places, as well as from the Grecian cities mentioned, for the making of this place a great and populous city.

The Pharisees in Judea, having strengthened themselves, by releasing all the prisoners, and
 Anno 77. Alexandria 2. calling home all the exiles of their party, as hath been mentioned,^d proceeded to demand justice against all those, at whose instigation, and by whose advice, Alexander had crucified the eight hundred rebels abovementioned; which was in effect against all those that had stood by him in that war: for all those they involved in this guilt. And first, they begun with Diogenes, a noted confident of the late king's, and, having cut him off, they proceeded to others, laying against them the same accusation, and this was made a pretence for their destroying all else of the adverse party, whom they most disliked; and Alexandra was, much against her will, forced to allow them thus to proceed, because they having gotten all the people on their side, she could no otherwise keep

^c Appian. in Mithridaticis. Plutarch. in Lucullo. Strabo, lib. 11, p. 532; lib. 12, p. 539.

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

peace at home, though she had two powerful armies on foot, on the borders of her kingdom, which made her a terrour to all her neighbours. She dreaded a civil war, having seen so much of the calamities of it in her husband's time, and, finding she could no otherwise prevent it than by yielding in some measure to the vindictive humour of those men, she permitted one evil, in order to prevent another that was worse.

Nicomedes,^e king of Bithynia, dying, left the Roman people his heirs; by virtue whereof that country thenceforth became a Roman province; which occasion Mithridates laying hold of for his reviving of the war again with the Romans, spent the most part of this year in making preparations for it.

Anno 76.
Alexandra 3.

This year Cyrene^f also was reduced into the like form of a Roman province. Ptolemy Apion, the last king of that country,^g having, on his death, given it by his will to the Romans, they, instead of accepting of it, declared all the cities free, and left them to be governed by their own laws. This was done twenty years before this time, as hath been above related.^h But thisⁱ causing seditions among them, and afterwards tyrannies, to the great vexation of the inhabitants, the Romans found it necessary to resume their grant, and make it a Roman province, the peace of the country being no otherwise to be provided for. To these disturbances^k the Jews of the country are said to have much contributed. They were first planted in it by the first Ptolemy that reigned in Egypt, as hath been above related, where they grew and multiplied so fast, that, in a short time, they became a great part of the bulk of the people in that country, and are said often to have disturbed it by their seditions, to which, no doubt, they were sufficiently provoked by the other inhabitants. For being, by reason of their different religion, and different way of living, much hated by the heathen nations, wherever

^e Appian. in Mithridaticis, de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 1. Epitome Livii, lib. 93. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 4, 39.

^f Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 1.

^g Epitome Livii, lib. 79.

^h Under the year 96.

ⁱ Plutarchus in Lucullo.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 12.

they lived among them, they often suffered indignities, wrongs, and other provocations, from them; which, when answered with suitable resentments, sometimes produced disturbances, and, whenever they did so, the Jews bore the blame of the whole; and this often happened to be their case in Alexandria.

Mithridates¹ seized Paphlagonia and Bithynia. And the province of Asia being much exhausted
 Anno 75. by the Roman publicans and Roman usurers,
 Alexandria 4. to be delivered from those oppressions, again revolted to him; and hereon began the third Mithridatic war, which lasted near twelve years.

For the managing of this war against him,^m the consuls of this year, Lucius Lucullus and
 Anno 74. Marcus Cotta, were sent from Rome with
 Alexandria 5. two armies; the first having Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia; and the other Bithynia and the Propontis assigned them for their provinces. But M. Cotta,ⁿ being a person not skilled in war, on his arrival in his province, was vanquished by Mithridates at Chalcedon with the slaughter of a great number of his men, and at the same time lost the best part of his fleet which he had there for the defending of that coast.

Mithridates, animated with this success,^o laid siege to Cyzicus, a city on the Propontis, which
 Anno 73. strenuously adhered to the Roman interest
 Alexandria 6. during this war. Could Mithridates have made himself master of this place, it would have opened to him a clear and safe passage from Bithynia into the province of Asia; and in this respect it would have been of great advantage to him, for the carrying of the war into that country; and it was with this view that he made this attempt upon it; and to make his success, as he thought, the surer, he begirt it with three hundred thousand men in ten camps by land, and with four hundred ships of war by sea. But he was no

¹ Appian. in Mithridaticis. Plutarch. in Lucullo Epitome Livii, lib. 93.

^m Plutarch. & Appian. *ibid.* Cicero pro Murena. Memnon, c. 39. Eutropius, lib. 6.

ⁿ Plutarch. Appian. & Livius, *ibid.* Ep. Mithridatis apud Sallust. Frag. lib. 4.

^o Plutarch. in Lucullo. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Epitome Livii, lib. 94. Cicero in Orationibus pro Murena & pro Lege Manilia. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 575. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5.

sooner sat down before it with his army, but Lucullus sat down by him with another; and there, without coming to a battle, by obstructing his supplies of provisions, by falling on his foragers, by cutting off detachments sent out on several occasions, and by taking all other advantages as they were offered, he so wasted and distressed him, that at length he forced him to raise the siege with disgrace, after having lost the greatest part of his numerous army in it.

There being some confusions in Egypt on the dislike which the people had of Alexander, Selene, as sister to Lathyrus, put in her claim for that crown, and^p sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, (whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes,) to Rome, to solicit the senate, for the putting of her in possession of it. But, after two years spent in soliciting this matter, they were forced to return without success, and had also the misfortune to be robbed, in their way home, by Verres pretor of Sicily, as they passed through that island. The Roman senators held them so long in hand with hopes at Rome, only to get the more money out of Alexander for the confirming of him in that kingdom. And when they had thus squeezed out of him all that could be had, they declared for him whom they had got most by, and sent home the two young princes to their mother with baffle and disappointment.

In Judea the Pharisees^q went on still to oppress those that had sided with the late king against them, accusing them of being the advisers and promoters of all the cruelties and misdemeanors which they thought fit to load the memory of the late king with; on which pretence they had cut off several of the party adverse to them, and were still framing new accusations of the same nature against such others of them as they most disliked, in order to subject them to the same fatal ruin.

Whereon^q the friends and adherents of the late king, seeing no end of these prosecutions, at length gathered together and went in a full body to the queen, with Aristobulus her younger

Anno 72.
Alexandra 7.

^p Cicero in Verrem, lib. 4, sec. 27.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

son at the head of them, to remonstrate against these proceedings. On which occasion, having set forth their services to the late king, and their faithful adhering to him in all his wars and difficulties, and shewn how hard a thing it was, that now under her government they should, for this very reason, be subjected to punishment, and be thus sacrificed to the malice of their enemies, for no other guilt, but for having, in opposition to them, been friends to her and her family, they earnestly prayed of her, that a stop might be put to these proceedings for the future; or, if this could not be done, that they might have leave to depart the land, and seek their safety elsewhere; or else that they might be dispersed through the garrisons of the kingdom, that so by this means at least they might be put out of the reach of their enemies. The queen heartily commiserated their case, as being sensible of the hardships of it, but was not able to help them as far as she could wish. For she was got so far into the hands and power of the Pharisees, that she could do nothing but what they liked. To stop all further proceedings against those men, they cried, would be to put a stop to the course of justice, which was in no government to be endured; and therefore they would not permit her to do it. And for her to give so many of the true and faithful friends of her family leave to depart the land would be to leave herself utterly naked and helpless, in the absolute power of a turbulent faction, and thereby deprive herself of all refuge, whereto to flee in case of need. And therefore she chose to gratify them in their third demand, and placed them in the several garrisons of the kingdom, which answered a double end. For when they were thus settled in these fortresses with their swords in their hands, their enemies could no more approach them to do them any hurt; and they were there a certain reserve for the service of the queen, whenever occasion should require.

This year was born Herod the Great, who was afterwards king of Judea, (for he was twenty-five ^s

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 17. For there, instead of fifteen years of age, it ought to be read twenty-five years. See Casaubons first Exercitations upon Baronius, c. 34. Usher's Annals J. P. 4667.

years old when he was first made governour of Galilee in the year before Christ 47.) His^t father was Antipas, a noble Idumean, and his mother Cyprus, of an illustrious family among the Arabians. This Antipas, to bring his name to the Greek form, called himself Antipater, and under that name we shall have frequent occasions to speak of him in the future series of this history. Nicolas Damascenus,^u who wrote a general history consisting of one hundred and twenty-four books, saith Josephus, of one hundred and forty-four saith Athenæus, having therein given an account of the actions of Herod, as far as they fell within the time where he concludes this work, and published the whole while Herod was living, therein to flatter him, ^x as being a great favourite of his, derives the pedigree of Antipater his father from one of the principal Jews that returned to Jerusalem from the Babylonish captivity. And others,^y to blast him as much on the other side, relate, that this Antipater was no other than the son of one Herod, who was sexton of the temple of Apollo at Askalon, and that being taken captive by some thieves of Idumea, while a child, and his father being so poor as not to be able to redeem him, he was made a slave in that country, and, as such, there bred up in the religion of the Idumeans (which was then the same with that of the Jews,) and, from this mean original, grew up to that figure which he afterwards made in the world. But Josephus, who best knew the truth, and is the likeliest to relate it without disguise on either side, tells us of this Antipas or Antipater,^z that he was of a noble family in Idumea; that his father being also called Antipas, ^z was governour of Idumea, under king Alexander Janneus and Alexandra his queen. By country therefore he was an Idumean, but by religion a Jew, as all other Idumeans were from the time that Hyrcanus brought them all to embrace the Jewish religion, of which I have above given an account.

t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. c. 2; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

u Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 2, c. 4.

x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 2.

y Africanus apud Eusebium in Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 1, c. 7. Ambrosius in Comment. ad Lucum, c. 3.

z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 2; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

In the interim, the Mithridatic war still went on in Lesser Asia. Mithridates^b being forced to raise the siege of Cyzicus, with the loss of so great a part of his army, as hath been mentioned, fled to Nicomedia, and from thence by sea into Pontus, leaving some part of his fleet, with ten thousand of his choicest men, behind him in the Hellespont, under the command of three of his prime generals. These Lucullus falling on with the Roman fleet, cut most of them off in two naval victories which he gained over them, the first at Tenedus, and the other near Lemnus; in the last of which, he took the three generals abovementioned, of which one was Marcus Marius, a Roman senator, sent to the assistance of Mithridates by Sertorius out of Spain; him Lucullus did put to death; of the other two, one poisoned himself, and the other he reserved for his triumph. Having by these two victories quite cleared all those coasts of the enemy, he turned his arms on the continent, and, having reduced first Bithynia, and next Paphlagonia, from thence marched into Pontus, to carry the war home to Mithridates' own doors: where he found him almost as much broken by tempests, in his return through the Euxine sea, as he had been by the war: for therein he had lost almost all the remainder of his fleet and the army, which he was carrying home for the defence of his own country; and therefore, on Lucullus' arrival, he was very busy in raising new forces for the opposing of him; and, to strengthen himself the better, he had sent ambassadors to Tigranes king of Armenia, to the Parthians, to the Scythians, and to other neighbouring nations, to solicit their assistance. In the mean time, Lucullus marched into his country, and laid siege to Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the chief cities of his kingdom, the latter of which stood nigh the other, and, being newly built by him, was called Eupatoria, from Eupator, his own surname, and made by him the chief seat of his residence, and the metropolis of his whole kingdom: and at the same time Lucullus sent another part of his army to besiege Themiscyra, a city on the

^b Plutarch. in Lucullo. Appian. in Mithridaticis. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 2.

river Thermodon, as considerable as either of the other two.

While these sieges were carrying on by the Romans, ^c Mithridates, having gotten another army together early in the next spring, took the field with it. Whereon Lucullus, ^d leaving Murena to carry on the siege of Amisus and Eupatoria, marched out against him with the rest of his army. In two conflicts, Mithridates had the better of him, but, in the third, being utterly broken, he was forced to flee into Armenia, there to pray the protection and assistance of Tigranes his son-in-law; but he was so far from finding such a reception from him as he desired, that he was there a year and eight months ere Tigranes would take any notice of him, or as much as admit him to speak with him. After this victory, all places in Pontus yielded to the conqueror, excepting Amisus (which held out till the beginning of the next spring,) and some few other fortresses: for the Romans were forced to spend two winters before Amisus, ere they could make themselves masters of that important place.

Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, prince of Chalcis, at the foot of Mount Libanus, being very vexatious to his neighbours, and especially to those of Damascus, ^e Alexandra sent Aristobulus, her younger son, with an army to suppress him, and under that pretence, as it seems, to seize Damascus. But Aristobulus, being more intent to make an interest for the crown against the time that his mother should die, than to execute his commission, made use of this opportunity only to secure the army for him. And therefore, having seized Damascus, he returned without suppressing the oppressor, against whom he was sent, or doing any thing else that was memorable in this expedition.

^c Plutarch. in Lucullo. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Phlegon. Trallianus apud Photium, cod. 97, p. 268. Memnon apud eundem, c. 45—47. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5. Eutropius, lib. 6. Epitome Livii, lib. 97.

^d Plutarch. in Lucullo. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Phlegon Trallianus apud Photium, cod. 97, p. 268. Memnon apud eundem, c. 45—47. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5. Eutropius, lib. 6. Epitome Livii, lib. 97.

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24, de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

Selene, after the return of her sons from Rome, finding that her pretences to the kingdom of Egypt could not succeed, endeavoured to enlarge herself in Syria, where^f having drawn over several cities to revolt to her, and attempted to do the same as to all the rest, she hereby brought Tigranes upon her with all his power. For, having received an account of these defections from him in that country,^g he came thither with an army of five hundred thousand men for the suppressing of them, and, having shut up Selene in Ptolemais, and laid siege to the place, on his taking of it, he there took her prisoner, and, on his return, having carried her with him as far as Seleucia in Mesopotamia, he there caused her to be put to death.^h She was the daughter of Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, and had at first been the wife of Ptolemy Lathyrus her brother, but, being taken from him by her mother, was given in marriage to Antiochus Grypus, and, after his death, she married Antiochus Eusebes, the son of Antiochus Cyzicenus, by whom she had her two sons. Appian tells us,ⁱ that she married Cyzicenus himself, and, after his death, Eusebes his son, and makes this remark upon it, that all the misfortunes that afterwards befell Eusebes^k was a just judgment of Heaven upon him for this incest. But this cannot be true: for the series of the Syrian history, after the death of Grypus, doth not allow a place for any such marriage of her's with Cyzicenus, neither doth any other historian say it.

While Tigranes lay at the siege of Ptolemais,^l queen Alexandra, fearing his power, sent ambassadors thither to him with large presents, to court his favour and desire his friendship, whom he received with all seeming kindness, accepting the presents, and granting the friendship that was desired, but not so much out of favour to the queen, as to comply with the exigency of his own affairs. For the progress of the

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24.

^g Joseph. ibid. Plutarch. in Lucullo.

^h Strabo, lib. 16, p. 749.

ⁱ In Syriacis.

^k The apostle Paul tells us, that for a man to marry his father's wife was a thing abhorred even by the heathen. 1 Cor. v, 1.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24.

Romans in Pontus and Cappadocia making his presence in Armenia then necessary, for the defence of those parts of his dominions, he was making all the haste he could to return thither; and therefore was not at leisure to enlarge his dominions any further in Palestine, otherwise Jerusalem and all Judea must have fallen for a prey into his hands, as well as Ptolemais, there being no power there sufficient to resist so great a force as this king then brought with him into those parts.

On his return from Ptolemais to Antioch,^m he there met with Publius Clodius, who was sent thither in an embassy from Lucullus to demand Mithridates to be delivered to him, with order in case of refusal, to declare war against him. Clodius, in executing his commission, having expressed himself with a freedom which Tigranes had never met with before (absolute will and pleasure having hitherto governed all his actions, without admitting the least contradiction or controul,) he was very much offended at it, but much more at the letter of Lucullus then delivered to him on this occasion. For he had directed it to king Tigranes, without styling him king of kings, which was a title he had assumed, and, out of his pride, much affected; and, to make his claim to it the better appear, on his having taken several petty kings prisoners in his wars against them,ⁿ he had the vanity to make them wait on him as his servants in all offices of service about his person. He never went abroad, but he had four of them to attend him, two running by him on one side of his horse, and two on the other; and thus, in like manner, was he served by some or other of them at his table, in his bed-chamber, and on all other occasions, but most especially when he gave audience to ambassadors: for then, to make the greater ostentation of his glory and greatness to foreign nations, he made all these captive kings, in the posture and habits of servants, to range themselves on each side of him. To express his resentment against Lucullus for not giving him this title, on his writing back again to him,

^m Plutarch. in Lucullo. Memnon, c. 43.

ⁿ Plutarch. in Lucullo. Memnon, c. 48.

he directed his letter to him by the name of plain Lucullus, without the addition of Imperator, or any other title usually given to the Roman generals. On his refusal to deliver Mithritates to Lucullus, which was the subject of this embassy to him, Clodius declared war from the Romans against him, and returned to Lucullus to acquaint him of it.

At this time Lucullus was in the province of Asia. For, after having driven Mithridates out of Pontus, taken Amisus and Eupatoria, and reduced most of the rest of that kingdom, he was returned thither,^o and finding that his province had fallen under great disorders and oppressions from the iniquity of usurers and publicans, he employed a great part of this year in reforming them; and he took such wise order herein, as effectually removed all these mischiefs, and wrought a thorough cure of them; whereby he gained to so great a degree the esteem and affection of the provincials, that they instituted games in his honour, called Lucillia, which they annually celebrated for several years after; and he gained at the same time no less honour and reputation among the neighbouring nations, both to himself and all the Roman people, for his justice in this proceeding. But the Roman usurers and publicans, whose lucre was much abridged hereby, hastening to Rome with accusations against him on this account, there clamoured so loud against him among the people, as first to beget in them that dislike of him, which, being afterwards improved by other false rumours, became the cause that he was at length recalled much sooner than otherwise he would have been, and another sent in his stead to reap the laurels of his victories.

War being declared against Tigranes,^p Lucullus hastened back again into Pontus for the prosecuting of it; and, having there made himself master of Synope, he restored both that and Amisus to their liberties, and made them free cities. After this, having left Sornatius, one of his generals, with six thousand men, to keep Pontus in order, with the rest of his

^o Plutarchus in Lucullo. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^p Plutarch. *ibid.* Appian. *ibid.* Memnon, c. 55, 56. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 3.

army, consisting of twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse, he marched through Cappadocia to the Euphrates, and, having passed that river in the midst of winter, he continued his course to the Tigris, and, having passed that river also, marched directly to Tigranocerta,^q which lay a little beyond it, there to fall upon Tigranes in his metropolis, whither he was newly returned from Syria. For he having put one to death for telling him of Lucullus' first march towards him, no one durst tell him any more of it, till he was now arrived almost to the very doors of his palace. And hence it was that Lucullus had passed through so great a length of Armenia without any opposition to hinder his progress, till he arrived so near the royal city.

A little before this invasion of Armenia by the Romans,^r Alexandra, queen of Judea, fell sick and died, being then seventy-three years old. She was a princess of great wisdom; and, had she not gone in too much to the Pharisees, or could she possibly have avoided doing so, no exceptions could have been made to her government. Salome, the widow of Aristobulus, the elder brother of Alexander,^s having, according to Josephus, been called also Alexandra by the Greeks, this hath made some think,^t that this Alexandra and she were one and the same person, and that Alexander, after Aristobulus' death, married her, according to the Jewish law, to raise up seed to his brother: but the birth of Hyrcanus, who is every where owned to be her son by Alexander, proves the contrary; for he was born of her at least five years before the death of Aristobulus, and therefore she could not have been Aristobulus' widow, and afterwards married to Alexander, but must have been his wife at least six years before, if not longer. That Hyrcanus was born of her five years before the death of Aristobulus, is proved from the age which he was of at the time of his death: for that happening in the thirtieth year be-

^q Tigranocerta was built on the east side of the Tigris, about two days journey above the place where formerly old Nineveh stood.

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24, de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 20.

^t Capellus and others.

fore Christ, he was then, according to Josephus, above eighty;^u supposing him to have been eighty-one, this will carry up the time of his birth to the year before Christ 111, which was just five years before Aristobulus died.

As soon as Aristobulus, the younger son of Alexandra, saw his mother was past recovery, having long resolved to seize the crown on her death,^x he privately in the night left Jerusalem, taking only one servant with him, and repaired to the castles, in which, by his procurement, his father's friends had been placed in garrison, by whom he was gladly received; and, in fifteen days time, twenty-two of these fortresses, one after another, put themselves into his hands, and thereby they made him in a manner master of all the rest of the strength of the kingdom. And at the same time the army and the people were ready to declare for him, as being weary of the oppressive administration of the Pharisees, who had the government of all public affairs under queen Alexandra: for they had managed it with much severity and insolence, and with so great an aim of revenge against their enemies of the contrary faction, as was scarce any longer tolerable. And therefore, on this occasion, Aristobulus, was flocked to of all sides, as one who, they knew, would put an end to these men's tyranny, which they would have no hope of from Hyrcanus, who was bred up by his mother in a thorough devotion to that sect, to which she had been always addicted. And besides, had he been otherwise, he had neither spirit nor capacity for attempting of their relief, as being a dull indolent man, of no activity or application, and of little understanding. However, when the Pharisees saw how Aristobulus prevailed, they, being greatly disturbed at it, got Hyrcanus at the head of them, and went to the dying queen to acquaint her how the case stood, and to pray her direction and assistance in it. Her answer to them was, that she was not in a condition any more to charge herself with such affairs, and therefore remitted all to their management, and

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 9.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 24; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

soon after died, leaving Hyrcanus, her eldest son, heir of all she had; who accordingly, on her death, took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees did their utmost to secure him in it. As soon as Aristobulus had left Jerusalem, they had procured that his wife and children, whom he had left there behind him, were shut up in the castle of Baris, there to be reserved as hostages against him. But this not stopping his course, they got ready an army,^y and he as soon got ready another; and near Jericho it came to a decisive battle between them, in which most of the forces of Hyrcanus going over to his brother, he was forced to flee to Jerusalem, and there shut himself up in the castle of Baris, where the wife and children of Aristobulus were kept as his prisoners, and those that adhered to him took sanctuary within the verge of the temple. But they soon after going over to Aristobulus also, this forced Hyrcanus to come to terms with him, by which it was agreed, that Aristobulus should have the crown and the high priesthood, and that Hyrcanus, making full resignation of both, should be contented to live a private life, under the protection of his brother, upon his own private fortunes; which he willingly enough submitted to, as being a man that loved his own ease and quiet more than any thing else. And thus he quitted the government, after he had held it only three months. And with it ended the tyranny of the Pharisees, which, from the death of king Alexander Janneus, they had exercised over that nation.

Josephus tells us,^z that it was in the third year of the 177th Olympiad, Q. Hortensius and Q. Metellus Creticus being then consuls at Rome, that Hyrcanus began his reign; and,^a in another place, that it was in the 179th Olympiad, Caius Antonius and M. Tullius Cicero being then consuls, that Jerusalem was taken by Pompey and Aristobulus deposed; according to which account, from the death of Alexandra, where Hyrcanus begun his reign, to the time when Aristobulus ended his, there must have intervened six years, so

^y Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 1; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 4.

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 1.

^a Antiq. lib. 14, c. 8.

much time having elapsed from the first of these two consulates to the other. And therefore these two brothers, taking the times of their reigns both together, must have reigned at least six years. But Josephus assigning no more than three months to Hyrcanus, and no more than three years and six months to Aristobulus,^b both these put together make no more than three years and nine months; and therefore in one of these two particulars there must be an error, that is, either in that which assigns no more than three months to Hyrcanus, or else in that which assigns no more than three years and six months to Aristobulus: for either the one or the other of them must have reigned longer to make up the time, which, according to the interval of the consulates abovementioned, must be assigned to both. Archbishop Usher's opinion is,^c that the error is in the former of these particulars, that is, that in the place in Josephus where we read, that Hyrcanus reigned only three months, it ought to be three years, and that it was so in the original, but that there the Greek word for months crept in instead of that which is for years, by the error of some scribe that wrote out the copy. Another learned man,^d to solve this difficulty, thinks, that Hyrcanus, though outed of the kingdom, yet held the high priesthood till his flight to Aretas, which will be hereafter mentioned; and that the three years and six months, which Josephus assigns to Aristobulus, are to be understood only of the time after this flight, when Aristobulus, according to this author, first added the pontifical tiara to his crown, and took the high priesthood also; so that, by the three years and six months assigned to Aristobulus, we are to understand, according to this author, only the time in which he held the high priesthood, and not the whole of his reign. But neither of these suppositions can hold good: not the former, because Josephus, from whom alone we have this relation of Hyrcanus' quitting the crown to his brother, sets forth that matter as transacted immediately after the death of Alexandra; and therefore the putting of it at three years distance,

^b Antiq. lib. 14, c. 11, lib. 20, c. 8.

^c Annales sub anno J. P. 4647.

^d Petavius.

seems utterly inconsistent with that history. And as to the other supposition, it is plain, from the same Josephus, that, when Hyrcanus resigned the kingdom, he resigned the high priesthood also, and that all the while Aristobulus held the one, he held the other together with it. It seems most likely, therefore, that the error was in the second particular, which assigns to Aristobulus only three years and six months, and that here the scribe made the mistake, by writing three years instead of six; for that six years at least must have intervened between the death of Alexandra and the deposing of Aristobulus, and that Hyrcanus reigned only three months, hath already been shewn; and therefore the remainder must belong to the reign of Aristobulus. The whole of the matter I take to have been thus. In the beginning of the consulate of Q. Hortensius and Q. Metellus Creticus, who entered that office at Rome about the middle of our October,^e Hyrcanus, on the death of Alexandra, took the crown, and held it three months, that is, till about the middle of our January, and from that time Aristobulus reigned six years and six months, that is, till about the time of our midsummer in the seventh year, and then, M. Tullius Cicero and Caius Antonius being consuls, he was deposed by Pompey, and Hyrcanus was again restored; and this seventh year is the first of those twenty-four years, during which Hyrcanus is said, after that restoration, to have held the government of the kingdom and the pontificate together. And therefore the error of the scribe must have been in putting three years and six months, instead of six years and six months, for the reign of Aristobulus; and not in putting of three months, instead of three years, for the reign of Hyrcanus. And it is an argument for this opinion, that a mistake, in putting three months for three years, must be made by the change of words, that is, of months for years; but a mistake, in putting three years for six years, is made by the change of a numerical letter only. For a mistake by the change of a numerical letter may easily be made, but not so

^e Vide Calvisium sub anno mundi 3880.

by the change of one word for another, especially when the words have no similitude the one with the other, as in the present case. But, in objection hereto, it may be said, that Josephus doth not in one place alone (that is, in the 14th book of his Antiquities, chap. 11,) assign three years only to Aristobulus, but after that in another place (that is, in the 20th book of the said Antiquities, chap. 8,) doth the same, and that therefore what is said in the former place is confirmed by what is said in the latter. In answer hereto, I acknowledge it would be so, did both places agree with each other, which they do not; for, in the first of these two places it is three years and six months, and, in the latter, three years and an equal number of months, that is, three months. But three years and six months, and three years and three months, do not agree; and therefore these two places cannot be said by their agreement to confirm each other. It is not to be doubted, but that they did both agree in the original copy of the author; and the true way again to restore this agreement, is to find out where the error is, which will be best discovered by comparing these two places together; and this will afford another argument to prove, that in both places it ought to be six years, and not three; for, if six months in the first place be the true reading (as I think it certainly is,) then these words in the second place [*and an equal number of months*] must imply just as many months in this place as are expressed in the other, that is, six months; and then, as in this place the months must be six, so must the years be six also, otherwise their numbers will not be equal to each other; and if this proves the years in the second place to be six, it will prove them to be six also in the first, and hereby the errors will be corrected in both; and, each of them being made by this correction six years and six months, each will be made to agree with each other, and both best to accord with the series of the history that is related concerning this matter. It may be said in opposition thereto, that *three years*^f in the last place is expressed by words at

^f For the Greek original is in words at length thus Ετε τρία της βασιμιας και τοις μηνις προς τοις.

length, and not by a numerical letter as in the first, and herein, I have allowed, a mistake is not so easily made. The answer hereto is, that the alteration in this last place, seems not to be made by casual mistake, but by design. I take the whole to have been done in manner as followeth: the numerical letter for *six* before the word *years* in the first place of Josephus abovementioned, being, by the casual mistake of some transcriber, changed into the numerical letter for *three*, when it had gone so for some time in other copies transcribed from it, some critic, to make Josephus agree with himself in both places, instead of mending the first place where the error was by the second, altered the second, where there was no error, to make it accord with the first, and thereby brought error into both; although in that very place, when he had there made it three years, by leaving in these words, that followed [*and an equal number of months*] he made by that alteration the same disagreement in the months, which he mended in the years, and by this blunder discovered the error of his emendation; and thereby also left sufficient light, whereby to guide us for the setting of the whole again at rights. For, if both places must be made to agree with each other (as it is not to be doubted but that at first both did,) then, as six months are expressed in the first place, so six months must be implied by the expression abovementioned in the second place; and, if six months were there originally implied in it, it must infer the words immediately preceding to have been originally six years also, and not three, as in our present copy. For, as six years can have none but six months, so six months can have none but six years in that place, of equal number with them; and therefore, as it must be read six years and six months in the first place, so also must it be read six years and an equal number of months in the second place; and this will make all agree in both places, that is, each with the other, and both with what is written in the history mentioned concerning the reign of these two brothers.

Tigranes having found, by the declaration of Clodius, that war was intended against him by Lucullus,

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tobulus II. 1.

on his return into Armenia from his Syrian expedition, admitted Mithridates^g into conference with him, that, consulting together about the operations of the ensuing war, they might agree on such methods, as they should judge properest for the prosecuting of it with the best advantage for the common interest of both. The result hereof was, Mithridates was sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, in order there to get together more forces, and return again with them to the assistance of Tigranes, in case Lucullus should invade Armenia. And in the interim Tigranes,^h remaining at Tigranocerta, there gave out his orders, and sent them through all his dominions, for the raising of a very numerous army for this war; but, before they could all come together, Lucullus was advanced near upon him, as hath been abovementioned. The first that durst tell him of this, after his putting to death the first messenger of this invasion, was Mithrobarzanes, one of his chief favourites, who had for his reward the commission of opposing the invader, in the execution of which he perished. For he (being immediately, on his giving the king this intelligence, sent forth with an army, and commanded to take Lucullus alive, and bring him prisoner to him, as if the thing were as easily to be done as said,) was cut off in the attempt, and most of his forces with him. Hereon Tigranes left Tigranocerta, and fled to Mount Taurus, ordering all his forces there to rendezvous to him. In the interim Lucullus laid siege to Tigranocerta, and, by his lieutenants sent abroad with detachments from the main army, did cut off several parties of Tigranes' forces, as they were marching from their several quarters to the place of general rendezvous. As soon as Tigranes had gotten all his army together, to the number of about three hundred and sixty thousand men of all sorts, he marched with it to the relief of Tigranocerta. Whereon Lucullusⁱ leaving Murena with six thousand men to continue the siege, marched

^g Memnon apud Photium, c. 57. Plutarch. in Lucullo.

^h Plutarch. *ibid.* Appian. in Mithridaticis.

ⁱ Memnon, c. 58, 59. Plutarch. & Appian. in Mithridaticis. Epitome Livii, lib. 98.

with the rest of his forces to meet the enemy, and, although he scarce reached the twentieth part of their number, yet with these only he fought this numerous army, and got an absolute victory over them, slaying great numbers of them, and putting the rest to flight, and Tigranes himself hardly escaped. So that it is remarked of this battle, that the Romans^k never at any other time fought an enemy with a force so much inferior in number, or^k ever was there a more glorious victory obtained by them. Tigranes in his flight met with Mithridates coming out of Pontus to his relief. He had heard of his march toward him before the battle, but, making sure of vanquishing the enemy, hastened to fight before his arrival, that he might not share with him in the glory of the victory; but instead of this he came only to take his part in the grief and regret for the loss of it. However, finding Tigranes much dejected under this misfortune, he comforted him as much as he could, and gave him the best advice for the repairing of his shattered fortunes, that they were capable of. Whereon Tigranes, as a man utterly confounded under the sense of the calamity he was fallen into by the late overthrow, remitted all to the direction and management of Mithridates, as one better experienced in the affairs of war, and better acquainted with the Roman way of managing it. The resolutions taken in their consultations were, to get together another army with all the speed and by all the means they were able. In order heretc, they went round the country to raise more forces, and, at the same time, sent to all the neighbouring nations, to pray their assistance, especially to the Parthians, who lay nearest to them, and, by the greatness of their power, were best able to help them in this distress. And the letter which Mithridates, on this occasion, wrote to Arsaces^l king of Parthia, is still extant in the fourth book of the fragments of the general history of Sallust. In the interim Lucullus made himself master of Tig-

^k Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, quotes Livy for the first of these remarks, and Antiochus, an eminent philosopher of those times, for the other.

^l Arsaces was a name common to all the kings of Parthia of this race. The proper name of him that now reigned was Sinatrux, who, dying in the year 67, was succeeded by Phraates II.

ranocerta, where he found vast treasures, among which were eight thousand talents of coined money. And, whereas this city had been planted with colonies forcibly brought thither out of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, as hath been above related, Lucullus, on his taking of it,^m gave all these liberty again to return to their former habitations; which all gladly accepting of, Tigranocerta, from a great city, was on a sudden reduced to a small village, and no more made any figure in that country. Had Lucullusⁿ immediately after this pursued Tigranes, and not given him the opportunity of raising new forces, he must either have taken him prisoner, or driven him out of the country, and thereby put an end to the war. His omitting to do this, displeased the Romans, as well in the camp as in the city at home, as if his neglect herein had been out of design to draw out the war for the continuing of himself the longer in command; and the discontent which was hereby created against him, gave the justest reason for that resolution, which was taken hereupon of sending him a successor, though it was not executed till two years after.

Among other methods taken by Tigranes, for the bringing of another army into the field against Lucullus, one was,^o he recalled Megadates out of Syria, ordering him to come, with all the forces he had in that country, for his assistance at this pinch. Whereon Syria being left naked,^p Antiochus Asiaticus, the son of Antiochus Eusebes, to whom of right the inheritance of that country belonged, as being the next surviving heir of the Seleucian family, took possession of some parts of it, and there quietly reigned four years,^q without the least contradiction or disturbance from Lucullus, or any one else. But when Pompey came into Syria, he took from him what Lucullus had allowed him to enjoy, and reduced that country to the form of a Roman province.

^m Strabo, lib. 11, p. 532; lib. 12, p. 539. Plutarch. in Lucullo.

ⁿ Dion Cassius, lib. 35.

^o Appian. in Syriacis.

^p Appian. *ibid.* Justin. lib. 40, c. 2.

^q These four years are part of the eighteen assigned to Tigranes; for he was not wholly dispossessed of Syria till it was made a Roman province, but there retained some part, while Asiaticus reigned in the other.

By these means Tigranes and Mithridates,^r having gotten together an army of seventy thousand choice men, and exercised them in the Roman way of fighting, about the middle of the summer he took the field with them. But strongly encamping themselves on all their movements in advantageous places, where they could not be attacked, and not being to be drawn by Lucullus to hazard another battle by all the means he made use of for this purpose, they must at length have worn him out of the country for want of provisions; which being what they aimed at by this delay, Lucullus found it necessary to break their measures herein, and, at length, resolved on an expedient, which effectually accomplished it. For, Tigranes having left his wives and children at Artaxata, the old metropolis of Armenia, and there deposited the most and best of his effects and treasures,^s Lucullus set himself and all his army on a march thither, for the taking of that place, concluding that Tigranes would not bear this, but forthwith march after him for the preventing of it, and thereby give him the opportunity of forcing him to a battle; and so it accordingly happened. For, as soon as Tigranes knew of Lucullus' design, he immediately made after him with all his army, to hinder the execution of it, and, in four days time having by long marches gotten before him, took post on the farther side of the river Arsamia, over which Lucullus was to pass in his way to Artaxata, resolving there to oppose his further progress, which brought it to a battle between them, in which the Romans again obtained a very signal victory. There were three kings^t present in this battle in the Armenian army, of whom, Mithridates behaved himself the worst. For, not being able to bear the sight of the Roman legions, as soon as they came on to the assault, he turned his back and fled, which did cast such a damp upon the whole army, that they all lost their courage hereon, and this became the cause that they lost the battle also. Lucullus, after

An. 68. Aristobulus II. 2.

^r Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^s Plutarch. in Lucullo.

^t Mithridates and Tigranes were two of those kings, the third is not named, but seems to have been Darius, king of Media.

this victory, would have continued his march to Artaxata, the taking of which would have put an end to the war, but it lying at the distance of many days march to the north, and winter coming on, with snowy and tempestuous weather, his soldiers, weary of the fatigues of so incommodious a campaign, would follow him no further into these cold regions; whereon, being forced to yield to this necessity, he^u marched back to the southward, and, passing Mount Taurus, entered into Mesopotamia, and, having taken the strong city of Nisibis, there put his army into winter quarters. In those quarters that spirit of mutiny first began to appear in Lucullus' army, which hindered him from doing any further service with it after that time. Publius Clodius, brother of Lucullus' wife, was the prime incendiary of this disorder, for reasons which will be hereafter mentioned. In the interim, Mithridates, ^x with four thousand men of his own, and four thousand more which he received from Tigranes, was returned into Pontus, and had there vanquished Fabius, and distressed Triarius and Sornatius, Lucullus' lieutenants in those parts.

Hereon Lucullus,^y with some difficulty, at length prevailed with his mutinous army to march out of their quarters for their relief. But they came too late for it. For Triarius, before their arrival, having rashly engaged in battle with Mithridates,^z was vanquished with the loss of seven thousand of his men, among whom were one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four military tribunes, which made this overthrow one of the most considerable blows that the Romans had in many years received. On Lucullus' arrival, he found the dead bodies lying on the field of battle, but,^a neglecting to bury them, this further exasperated his soldiers against him. After this,^b the spirit of mutiny pre-

An. 67. Aris-
tobulus II. 3.

^u Plutarch. in Lucullo. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 3. Dion Cassius, lib. 35, c. 2.

^x Dion Cassius, lib. 35. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^y Plutarchus in Lucullo.

^z Dion Cassius, lib. 35, p. 5, 6. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Cicero in Oratione pro Lege Manilia.

^a Plutarch. in Pompeio.

^b Dion Cassius, lib. 35. Plutarch. in Lucullo.

vailed so much among them, that thenceforth, retaining no more regard to him as their general, they treated him only with insolence and contempt on all occasions, although he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to entreat them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, (who, taking the advantage of this disorder, the former of them had recovered Pontus, and the other was then harassing Cappadocia,) yet he could not get them to stir. All that he could obtain of them was, that they would stay with him all the ensuing summer, but would not move out of the camp for any military action under his command; and they had received accounts from Rome of some votes there passed to the disadvantage of Lucullus, which encouraged them herein. So that he was forced to lie still in his camp, and suffer the enemy to range over the country, without being able to do any thing to oppose them. And thus the case stood with them, till Pompey, being sent by the people of Rome to succeed him in the management of this war, arrived to take it out of his hands.

This happened in the beginning of the next year; for^c then Pompey coming into Galatia with this commission from the Romans, Lucullus An. 66. Aris-
tobulus II. 4. there delivered over the army to him, and returned to Rome, leaving his successor to reap the laurels of his victories. He^d carried with him a great number of books, which he had gathered together out of the spoils of this war, and with them he erected a great library at Rome, which he made free for the use of all learned men, who in great numbers after this resorted to his house for it, and there they always found a kind and generous entertainment.

Pompey, on his first entering on this war,^e drew into alliance and confederacy with him Phraohates, who had the year before succeeded in the kingdom of Parthia; and also^f made an offer of peace to Mithridates: but he, reckoning himself as sure of the friendship

^c Plutarch. in Lucullo & Pompeio. Dion Cassius, lib. 36, p. 22.

^d Ibid. Isodor. Origen, lib. 6, c. 3.

^e Dion Cassius, lib. 36. Epitome Livii, lib. 100.

^f Dion Cassius, lib. 36, p. 22. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

and assistance of Phrahates, would not hearken to the proposal. But, when he heard Pompey had been beforehand with him as to Phrahates, he sent ambassadors to Pompey to treat about it. But Pompey's preliminaries being, that he should forthwith lay down his arms, and deliver up to him all deserters, this had like to have raised a mutiny in his army. For there being in it a great number of deserters, they could not bear the mention of their being delivered up to Pompey, nor the rest of the army to be deprived of their assistance in the war. Whereupon, to quiet this matter, Mithridates was forced to pretend to them, that his ambassadors were sent with no other intention than to spy out the strength and state of the Roman army, and also at the same time to swear to them, that he would never make peace with the Romans, either on these or any other terms whatsoever. And, indeed, he was now better furnished for the war, than he had been for many years before. For, the mutiny of Lucullus' soldiers having hindered him from entering on any action of war all the last year,^g Mithridates took the advantage hereof to recover most of his lost kingdom, and there had gotten together another well appointed army for the further prosecution of the war; and thinking that the wearying out of the Romans by delays, and distressing them in obstructing their supplies of provisions, was the readiest way to vanquish them, he for some time followed this method, wasting the country before them, and refusing to fight. And he had in part the success he proposed. For Pompey was hereby so far distressed, that he was forced to remove out of Pontus and Cappadocia into the Lesser Armenia, for the better furnishing of his army with provisions, and other necessaries for their subsistence, and Mithridates followed after him thither for the carrying on there also of the same methods of distressing him. But while he was thus endeavouring in that country, he^h was there surprised by Pompey in a night

^g Plutarchus in Lucullo & Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Dion Cassius, lib. 36.

^h Plutarchus in Pompeio. Dion Cassius, lib. 36. Epit. Livii, lib. 100. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Eutrop. lib. 6. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 4.

march, and utterly vanquished, with the loss of the major part of his army, and he himself hardly escaping, was forced to flee northward beyond the springs of the Euphrates, for the seeking of his safety. Whereon, Pompey,ⁱ having ordered the building of a new city in the place where this victory was gained, which, in commemoration of it, he called *Nicopolis*, i. e. *The city of victory*, left there for the inhabiting of it such of his soldiers as were wounded, sick, aged, or otherwise disabled for the fatigues of war; and then marched with the rest into the Greater Armenia against Tigranes, as being a confederate of Mithridates in this war against the Roman people.

At this time Tigranes was at war with his son of the same name. It hath been before mentioned, that he married Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. By her he had three sons,^k two of which, on light occasions, he had put to death; whereon Tigranes the third of them not thinking his life safe within the power of so cruel a father,^k fled to Phrahates king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married, who brought him back into Armenia with an army, and laid siege to Artaxata, the capital of the kingdom. But finding the place strong and well provided with all necessities long to hold out, he left his son-in-law there with one part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned into Parthia with the other. Whereon Tigranes the father, falling on his son with all his power, got a thorough victory over him, and drove him out of the country. In this distress, he purposed to betake himself to Mithridates his grandfather; but meeting, in his way to him, the news of his defeat, and that therefore no help was to be had from him,^l he fled to the Roman camp, and there, by way of a suppliant, cast himself into the hands of Pompey, who received him very kindly, and was glad of his coming: for, being then on his march into Armenia, he needed one that knew the country to be his guide in it; and therefore, making use of him for this purpose, marched under

ⁱ Dion & Appian. *ibid.* Strabo, lib. 12, p. 555.

^k Appian. in *Mithridaticis*.

^l Plutarch. in *Pompeio*. Appian. & Dion Cassius in *Mithridaticis*.

his guidance directly towards Artaxata. At the news whereof Tigranes being much terrified,^l as not being sufficiently provided to resist the power that was coming against him, resolved to cast himself upon the generosity and clemency of the Roman general, and, to make way for it, sent to him the ambassadors of Mithridates. For Mithridates, on his late defeat,^m sent ambassadors to him to desire refuge in his country, and his help for the repairing of his loss. But Tigranes not only denied him his help, and all admission in his country, but also seized his ambassadors, and cast them into prison, and did set a price of one hundred talents upon the head of Mithridates himself, should he be any where found within his dominions, pretending for all this, that it was by his instigation that his son was in rebellion against him; but the true reason was to make way for his reconciliation with the Romans: and therefore he delivered these ambassadors unto them, and soon after followed himself,ⁿ without any precaution taken, and, entering the Roman camp, resigned both himself and kingdom to the pleasure and disposal of Pompey and the Romans; and, in the doing hereof, debased himself to so mean and abject an humiliation, that, as soon as he appeared in the presence of Pompey, he plucked his crown or royal tiara from off his head, and cast himself prostrate on the ground before him. Pompey, hereon much commiserating his case, leaped from off his seat, and, kindly taking him by the hand, lifted him up, put his crown again upon his head, and placed him on a seat at his right hand, and his son on another at his left; and, having appointed the next day for the hearing of his cause, invited him and his son to sup with him. But the son refusing to come, out of displeasure to his father, and neglecting to shew him any respect, or to take the least notice of him at the interview, he much offended Pompey by his conduct. However, on having heard the cause, he did not wholly neglect his interest. For,

^l Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian. & Dion Cassius in Mithridaticis.

^m Plutarch. & Appian. *ibid*.

ⁿ Plutarch, Dion & Appian. *ibid*. Eutrop. lib. 6. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. c. 37.

after having decreed, that king Tigranes should pay the Romans six thousand talents for making war upon them without cause, and yield up to them all his conquests on this side the Euphrates, he ordered that he should still reign in his paternal kingdom of Armenia the Greater, and his son in Gordena and Sophena (two provinces bordering on Armenia) during his father's lifetime, and succeed him in all the rest of his dominions after his death, reserving to the father out of Sophena the treasure which he had there deposited, without which he would not have been able to pay the mulct of six thousand talents imposed on him. Tigranes the father joyfully accepted these terms, being glad even thus to be again admitted to reign. But the son, having entertained expectations that were not answered by this decree, was highly displeased at it, and made an attempt to have fled for the raising of new disturbances: whereon Pompey put a guard upon him, and, on his refusal to permit his father to take away his treasure in Sophena, cast him into prison; and afterwards being detected to have solicited the nobility of Armenia to renew the war, and also the Parthians to join in it, Pompey put him among those whom he reserved for his triumph, and, after that triumph, left him in prison; whereas most of the other captives, after they had borne their part in that show, were released, and again sent home into their own countries. Tigranes the father, after the receipt of his treasure out of Sophena, paid the six thousand talents in which Pompey had mulcted him, and added over and above a donative to the Roman army, giving every common soldier fifty drachms, each centurion one thousand, and each military tribune ten thousand, whereby he obtained to be declared a friend and an ally of the Roman people.

Pompey, having thus composed matters in Armenia,^o marched northward after Mithridates. On his coming to the river Cyrus, he was opposed by the Albanians and the Iberians, two potent nations dwelling between the Caspian and the Euxine seas, and

^o Epitome Livii, lib. 101. Plutarch. in Pompeio, Dion Cassius, lib. 36. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

confederates of Mithridates; but, having overcome them in battle, he forced the Albanians to sue for peace, and, having granted it to them, wintered among them.

Early the next year after,^p he marched against the Iberians, a warlike nation, which had never yet yielded to any superiour, but had always held out against the Medians, Persians, and Macedonians, and submitted to neither of them during all the time that they, in succession one after the other, held the empire of Asia. Pompey, although he found some difficulties in this war, yet soon mastered them, and forced the Iberians to terms of peace. After his having reduced the people of Colchis also to a submission to him, and taken Olthaces their king prisoner (whom he afterwards caused to be led before him in his triumph,) he marched back again upon the Albanians, who, while he was engaged with the Iberians and Colchians, had renewed the war; but, having overthrown them in battle with a great slaughter, and slain therein Cosis, the brother of Orodes their king,^q who commanded the army, he thereby forced Orodes to purchase the renewal of the last years peace by large gifts, and also to send his sons to him as hostages for the keeping of it.

In the interim Mithridates,^r having wintered at Dioscurias (a place upon the Euxine sea,^s and there situated in the farthest part of the isthmus which lies between that sea and the Caspian,)^t early the next spring did set out from thence for the country of the Cimmerian Bosphorus,^u making his way thither through several Scythian nations that lay between, obtaining his passage of some of them by fair means, and of others by force. This kingdom^u of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same which is now the country of the Crim Tartars, and was then a province of

^p Plutarch. *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 37, p. 29.

^q So Florus, Eutropius, and Orosius, call him, but the name given by others is Oræses.

^r Appian. in *Mithridaticis*.

^s See Strabo, lib. 11, p. 498.

^t Appian. in *Mithridaticis*. Epitome Livii, lib. 101. Dion Cassius, lib. 36, p. 25. Strabo, lib. 11, p. 496.

^u Strabo, lib. 11.

the empire of Mithridates. He had placed one of his sons,^x called Macheres, there to reign. But this young prince having been hard pressed upon by the Romans, while they lay at the siege of Sinope, and had then, by their fleet, the mastery of the Euxine sea (which lay between that city and the kingdom of Macheres,) he made peace with them,^y and had ever since maintained the terms of it: by which having much angered his father, he dreaded his approach; and therefore, while he was on the way,^z he sent ambassadors to him to make his peace with him, urging for his excuse, that what he did, was by the necessity of his affairs driving him to it, and not by choice. But, finding that his father was implacable, he endeavoured to make his escape by sea; but, being intercepted by such ships as Mithridates had sent out for this purpose, he slew himself, to avoid falling into his hands.

Pompey, having finished his war in the North, and finding it impracticable to pursue Mithridates any farther that way, led back his army again into the southern parts, and,^a in his way thither, having subdued Darius king of Media, and Antiochus, king of Commagena, he came into Syria,^a and having by Scaurus^c reduced Cœle-Syria and Damascus, and by Gabinius^d all the rest of those parts, as far as the Tigris, he made himself master of all the Syrian empire. Whereon Antiochus Asiaticus,^e the son of Antiochus Eusebes, the remaining heir of the Seleucian family, who, by the permission of Lucullus, had now for four years reigned in some part of that country, after Tigranes had been forced to withdraw his forces from it, applied to him to desire to be re-established in the kingdom of his forefathers. But Pompey, refusing to hearken to him, stripped him of all his dominions, and reduced them into the form of a Roman province. And thus, at the same time, when Tigranes was permitted to

^x Memnon, c. 56. Appian. *ibid*.

^y Epit. Liv. lib. 98. Plutarch in Lucullo. Appian. & Memnon, c. 56.

^z Appian. & Dion Cassius, *ibid*. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 5.

^a Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 4; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

^d Dion Cassius, lib. 37, p. 31.

^e Appian. in Mithridaticis. Justin. lib. 40, c. 2. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri. Xiphilinus ex Dione.

reign in Armenia, who had much damaged the Roman interest by a long war, Antiochus was stripped of all, who never did them any hurt, or ever deserved any ill from them. The reasons given for it were, that the Romans had taken this country by conquest from Tigranes, and therefore were not to lose the fruits of their victory ; and that Antiochus was a weak prince, of no courage or capacity to protect that country ; and that therefore the putting of it into his hands would be to betray it to the ravages and depredations of the Jews and Arabs, which Pompey could not consent to. And therefore Antiochus,^f being thus deprived of his crown, was reduced to a private condition of life. And here ended the empire of the Seleucidæ in Asia, after it had there lasted two hundred and fifty-eight years.

While these things were a doing by the Romans, there happened great disturbances and revolutions in Egypt and Judea. For, in Egypt, the Alexandrians, being weary of Alexander their king, rose in a mutiny against him, and drove him out of the kingdom,^g and called Ptolemy Auletes to the crown.^h He was the bastard son of Ptolemy Lathyrus ; for Lathyrus had no male issue by his wife that survived him ;ⁱ but he had several by his concubines ; one of which was that Ptolemy^k who had the kingdom of Cyprus after his father's death, and there reigned, till injuriously deprived of it by the Romans, as will hereafter be related. Another was^k this Auletes ; he was also called Dionysius Neos, or the New Bacchus ; both which names he had from infamous causes ; for he had much used himself to play on the pipe,^l and valued himself so much upon his skill herein, that he would expose himself to contend for victory in the public shows ; hence he had the name of Auletes, that is, the Piper ;

^f Some confound this Antiochus with Antiochus Commagenus, and hold, that Commagena was given him by Pompey, when stripped of all the rest. But the testimony of history is contrary to this conjecture.

^g Suetonius in Julio. Casare, c. 11. Trogus in Prologo 39.

^h Trogus in Prologo 39.

ⁱ Pausanias in Atticis ; ibi enim dicit eum, Berenicem solam, cum obisset, prolem legitimam sibi superstitem reliquisse.

^k Trogus in Prologo 40.

^l Strabo, lib. 17, p. 796.

and^m he would often imitate the effeminacies of the Bacchinals, and in the same manner as they dance their measures in a female dress ; and hence it was that he was called Dionysius Neos, or the New Bacchus. He is reckonedⁿ to have as much exceeded all that reigned before him of his race in the effeminacy of his manners, as his grandfather Physcon did in the wickedness of them. Alexander, on his expulsion,^o fled to Pompey, to pray his assistance for his restoration, and offered him great gifts, and promised him more, to induce him hereto. But Pompey refused to meddle with this matter, as being without the limits of his commission. Whereon^p Alexander retired to Tyre, there to wait a more favourable juncture, and soon after died in that city. It is here to be remarked, that Ptolemy the astronomer, in his chronological canon, names not Alexander at all among the kings of Egypt, but begins the reign of Auletes from the death of Lathyrus, although it appears, both from Cicero and Suetonius, that Alexander reigned fifteen years between. Perchance, as Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, had that island immediately on his father's death, so likewise Auletes had, at the same time, some other part of the Egyptian empire for his share of it ; and for this reason Ptolemy the astronomer makes him the immediate successor of Lathyrus, though he had not the whole kingdom of Egypt till fifteen years after.

The disturbances which were at this time in Judea, and the revolution which happened thereon, had their original from the ambition and aspiring spirit of Antipater, the father of Herod. Of his original I have before spoken. He having his education in the court of Alexander Janneus, and Alexandra his queen, who reigned after him, there^q wrought himself into the good liking of Hyrcanus, the eldest of their sons, hoping to rise by his favour when he should come to the crown after his mother. But, when Hyrcanus was deposed, and Aristobulus made king in his place, these

^m Lucian. de non temere Credendo Calumnias.

ⁿ Strabo, *ibid.*

^o Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^p Cicero in Oratione Secunda contra Rullum.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 2 ; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

measures which he had taken for his advancement were all broken; and his engagements in them having rendered him so obnoxious to Aristobulus, as to exclude him all prospect of favour from him, he set himself with all the craft, which he was signally endued with, to repair the fortunes of Hyrcanus, and restore him again to his crown: in order whereto, he treated with Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, and engaged him to help him with an army for the accomplishing of this design, and had, by clandestine applications, drawn in great numbers of the Jews for the promoting of the same purpose. But his greatest difficulty was to excite Hyrcanus himself to the undertaking; for, being a quiet indolent man, who loved ease more than any thing else, he had no ambition for reigning, and therefore had no inclination to stir a foot for the obtaining of it. But at length being made believe that his life was in danger, and that he had nothing to choose between reigning and dying, if he staid in Judea, he was roused up by this argument to flee for his safety, and put himself into the hands of Aretas, who, according to his agreement with Antipater,^r brought him back into Judea with an army of fifty thousand men, and, having there joined the Jews of Hyrcanus' party, gave battle to Aristobulus, and, gaining an absolute victory over him, pursued him to Jerusalem, and, entering it without opposition, drove him with all his party to take refuge in the mountain of the temple, and there besieged him, where all the priests stood by him; but the generality of the people declared for Hyrcanus. This happened in the time of their passover; whereon Aristobulus, wanting lambs and beasts for the sacrifices of that holy solemnity, agreed with the Jews that were among the besiegers to furnish him with them for a sum contracted. But, when they had the money let down to them over the wall, they refused to deliver the sacrifices, and thereby impiously and sacrilegiously robbed God of that part of his worship which was then to have been performed to him. And at the same time they added another very heinous wickedness to this

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 3; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

guilt: for there being then at Jerusalem one Onias, a man of great reputation for the sanctity of his life, who had been thought by his prayers to have obtained rain from heaven in a time of drought, they brought him forth into the army; and, concluding his curses would be as prevalent as his prayers, pressed him to curse Aristobulus, and all that were with him. He long resisted to hearken to them; but at length, finding no rest from their importunities, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, as standing in the midst of them, and prayed thus, "O Lord God, Rector of the universe, since those that are with us are thy people, and they that are besieged in the temple are thy priests, I pray that thou wouldst hear the prayers of neither of them against the other." Hereon, they that brought him thither were so enraged against the good man, that they fell upon him with stones, and stoned him to death. But this was soon revenged upon them. For^s Scaurus being by this time come to Damascus with a Roman army, Aristobulus sent thither to him, and, by the promise of four hundred talents, engaged him on his side. Hyrcanus offered him the like sum; but Scaurus, looking on Aristobulus as the more solvent of the two, and for other reasons taking the better liking to him, chose to embrace his cause before the other's; and Gabinius, by a present of three hundred talents more out of Aristobulus' purse, was induced to do the same. And therefore they both sent to Aretas to withdraw, threatening him with the Roman arms in case of refusal. Whereon, Aretas raising the siege, and marching off towards his own country, Aristobulus got together all the forces he could, and pursued after him, and, having overtaken him at a place called Papyrion, overthrew him in battle with a great slaughter, in which perished many of the Jews of Hyrcanus' party, and among them Cephalion, the brother of Antipater.

About this time Pompey himself came to Damascus,^t where resorted to him ambassadors from all the neighbouring countries, especially from Egypt and

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 4; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

^t Joseph. ibid. Xiphilin. ex Dione.

Judea; for the kings of both these countries reigning in them by the expulsion of their immediate predecessors, thought it their interest to get the Roman power on their side for the maintaining of their usurpations. For this reason the ambassadors from Egypt presented Pompey with a crown of gold of the value of four thousand pieces of gold money, and those from Judea with a vine of gold^u of the value of four hundred talents, which was afterwards deposited in the temple of Jupiter in the capitol at Rome,^x and there inscribed as the gift of Alexander king of the Jews. It seems they would not own Aristobulus to be king, and therefore did put his father's name upon it instead of his. While Pompey was in these parts,^y there came to him no fewer than twelve kings to make their court to him, and were all seen at the same time attending upon him.

But many fortresses and strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia still holding out for Mithridates, Pompey found it necessary to march again into those parts to reduce them, which having, on his arrival, in a great measure accomplished, he took up his winter quarters at Aspis,^y in Pontus. Among the places which he reduced, one^a called *Kazin*, that is, Newcastle, was the strongest. There Mithridates had laid a great part of his treasure, and the best of his other effects, as reckoning the place impregnable; but it was not so against the Romans. Pompey took the place, and in it all that was there deposited. Among other things there found, were the private memoirs of Mithridates, which made discovery of many of his transactions and secret designs. And there also were found his medicinal commentaries,^b which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Leneus, a learned grammarian, that was a freed man of his; and they were afterwards published by him in that language; for, among many other extraordinary endowments with which this prince had accomplished himself, he was eminently skilled in the art of physic; and particularly it is to

^u Josephus ib.

^x Strabo apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 5. Plinius, lib. 37, c. 2.

^y Plutarch. in Pompeio.

^a Strabo, lib. 12, p. 556. Plutarch. *ibid*.

^b Plinius, lib. 25, c. 2.

be remarked of him, that he was the author of that excellent alexipharmical medicine, which, from his name, is now called Mithridate, and hath ever since been in great use among physicians, and is so even to this day.

Pompey having, while he lay at Aspis, settled the affairs of the adjacent countries, as well as their circumstances would then admit, as An. 64. Aristobulus II. 6. soon as the spring began,^c returned again into Syria, there to do the same. For Mithridates being gotten into the kingdom of Bosphorus, on the other side of the Euxine sea, there was no pursuing of him thither by a Roman army but round that sea, a great way about, through many barbarous Scythian nations, and several deserts, which was not to be attempted without manifest danger of a total miscarriage. And therefore all that Pompey could do in this case^d was to order the stations of the Roman navy in such manner, as to hinder all supplies of provisions and other necessaries from being carried to him; which having taken full care of, he thought by this method he should soon break him, and therefore, on his quitting Pontus,^e he said he had left behind him against Mithridates a fiercer enemy than the Roman army, that is, famine and the want of all necessaries. That which made him so fond of this march into Syria, was^e a vain and ambitious desire he had of extending his conquests to the Red sea. He had formerly, while he commanded first in Africa, and afterwards in Spain, carried them on to the western ocean on both sides of the Mediterranean, and had lately in his Albinian war made them reach as far as the Caspian sea, and if he could do the same as to the Red sea also, he thought it would complete his glory. On his coming into Syria, he made Antioch,^f and Seleucia^g on the Orontes, free cities, and^h then continued his march to Damascus, intending from thenceⁱ to

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 5.

^d Dion Cassius, lib. 37. Plutarch. in Pompeio.

^e Plutarchus in Pompeio.

^f Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianus Scaligeri.

^g Strabo, lib. 16, p. 751. Eutropius, lib. 6.

^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 5.

ⁱ Dion Cassius, lib. 37. Plutarch. in Pompeio. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 6.

make war upon the Arabians for the carrying on of his victories to the Red sea. But, in his way thither, he made many stops to examine into the conduct of the princes of those parts, and to hear the complaints that were made against them. For, in the declension of the Syrian empire, many petty princes had set up upon its ruins, and had cantoned themselves in several parts and districts of it, and exercised great tyranny over their people, and as great depredations on their neighbours round them. These Pompey, as he passed through the country, summoned to him, and, on hearing their causes,^k some of them he confirmed in their toparchies, under the condition of becoming tributaries to the Romans, others he condemned to death for their mal-administrations. But Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, prince of Chalcis, who was the worst and wickedest of them all, escaped by virtue of his money. For, having made himself very rich with his oppressions upon his people, and his plunders upon his neighbours, he presented Pompey with one thousand talents, and thereby redeemed both his life and his principality, and continued in the enjoyment of both a great number of years after.

On Pompey's coming into Coele-Syria,^k Antipater from Hyrcanus, and one Nicodemus from Aristobulus, addressed themselves to him about the controversy that was between these two brothers, each of them praying his patronage to the party from which they were delegated. Pompey having heard what was said by them on both sides, dismissed them with fair words, ordering that both brothers should appear in person before him, promising, that then he would take full cognizance of the whole cause, and determine it as justice should direct. At this audience Nicodemus did much hurt to the cause of his master, by complaining of the four hundred talents which Scaurus, and the three hundred which Gabinius had extorted from him. For this made them both to be his enemies, and they being two of the greatest men in the army, next Pompey, he was afterwards influenced by

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 5. Xiphilin. ex Dione Cassio.

them to the damage of the complainant. But Pompey, being then intent upon making preparations for his Arabian war, could not immediately find leisure for this matter, and soon after an occasion happened which forced him to lay aside, for the present, whatever he had to do in Syria, and march again into Pontus; it was as followeth.

Before Pompey left Syria in the former year,^m there came thither to him ambassadors from Mithridates out of Bosphorus with proposals of peace. They offered in his behalf, that, in case he might be allowed to hold his paternal kingdom, as Tigranes had been, he would pay tribute to the Romans for it, and quit to them all his other dominions. To this Pompey answered, that he should then come to him in person in the same manner as Tigranes did. This Mithridates would not submit to, but offered to send his sons, and some of his principal friends; but this not being accepted of, he set himself to make new preparations for war with as great vigour as at any time before. Pompey, having notice hereof, found it necessary to hasten back again into Pontus to watch his proceedings. On his arrival thither,ⁿ he fixed his residence for some time at Amisus, the ancient metropolis of that country, and, while he continued in that place, practised the same thing which he had before blamed in Lucullus. For he there^o settled the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, and distributed rewards, as if the war had been ended. Whereas Mithridates was then still alive, and with an army about him for the making of a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman dominions. In the distributing of his rewards,^p he gave the Lesser Armenia, with several other territories and cities adjoining, to Deiotarus, one of the princes of the Galatians, to recompense him for his adhering to the Roman interest during all this war, and honoured him with the title of king of these countries, whereas before he was^q only a tetrarch among

^m Appian. in Mithridaticis.

ⁿ Plutarch. in Pompeio.

^o Plutarch. *ibid.* Epitome Livii, lib. 102. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 541.

^p Strabo, lib. 12, p. 547. Eutropius, lib. 6.

^q Strabo, *ibid.*

the Galatians. This is the same king Deiotarus, in whose behalf Cicero afterwards made one of his orations.^r And at the same time^s he made Archelaus high priest of the moon, the great goddess of the Comanians in Pontus, with sovereign authority over the inhabitants of the place, among whom there were no fewer than six thousand persons devoted to the service of the goddess. This Archelaus was the son of that Archelaus^t who had the chief command of Mithridates' forces in Greece, during his first war with the Romans; but after that falling into disgrace with his master, fled to the Romans; and he and his son having from that time adhered to the Roman interest, and done them thereby much service in all their wars in Asia, the father being now dead, the son, for the reward of both, had this high priesthood of Comana conferred on him, which made him also prince of that place, and the territory belonging thereto. He is the same who afterwards reigned in Egypt, as will be hereafter related.

While Pompey was thus absent in Pontus,^u Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, took the advantage of it to infest Syria, making incursions and depredations upon several parts of it. This^x called Pompey back into that country. In his way thither, marching by the place where the bodies of the Romans lay dead, that had been slain in the defeat of Triarius, he buried them with great solemnity;^x which much ingratiated him with the army, whose greatest disgust against Lucullus was his having omitted it, when he marched by the same place soon after that defeat. From thence Pompey marched into Syria for his carrying on of the Arabian war, according to the project above mentioned.

^r This oration was spoken in behalf of king Deiotarus, before Julius Cæsar, and is still extant under the title *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. Galatia was formerly governed by four tetrarchs, of which Deiotarus was now one. To this tetrarchy Pompey added his grants without dispossessing the other tetrarchs. But afterwards Deiotarus swallowed the other three tetrarchies, and had all Galatia, when Cicero pleaded for him. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 567.

^s Appian. in Mithridaticis. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 558; lib. 17, p. 796.

^t Plutarch. in Sylla.

^u Dion Cassius, lib. 37.

^x Plutarch. in Pompeio.

In the interim died Mithridates,^z being driven by his own son to that hard fate of slaying himself. Finding no hopes of making peace with the Romans upon any tolerable terms, he resolved to make a desperate expedition,^a through the way of Pannonia and the Trintine Alps, into Italy itself, and there assault them, as Hannibal did, at their own doors. In order hereto, he got many forces together out of the Scythian nations for the augmenting of his former army, and sent agents to engage the Gauls to join with him on his approach to the Alps. But this undertaking containing a march of above two thousand miles, through all those countries which are now called Tartaria Crimea, Podolia, Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungaria, Stiria, Carintha, Tyrol, and Lombardy; and over the three great rivers of the Boristhenes, the Danube, and the Po, the thought hereof so frightened his army, that, for the avoiding of it, they conspired against him, and made Pharnaces his son their king; whereon finding himself deserted of all, and his son not to be prevailed upon to let him escape elsewhere, he retired into his apartment, and, having there distributed poison to his wives, his concubines, and daughters that were then with him, he took a dose of it himself, but that not operating upon him, he had recourse to his sword to complete the work; but failing with that, to give himself such a wound as was sufficient to cause his death, he was forced to call a Gallic soldier unto him, who had then newly broke into the house, to help to despatch him, and so died after he had lived seventy-two years, and reigned sixty of them. He dreaded nothing more than to fall into the hands of the Romans, and be led in triumph by them; and therefore, for the preventing of this, he always carried poison about him, that, if he could no other way escape their hands, he might this way deliver himself from them. And the apprehension that his son might deliver him to Pompey, caused that at this time he was so eager to despatch himself. It is commonly said, that the poison

^z Plutarch. *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 37. Appian. in *Mithridaticis*. Epit. Livii, lib. 102. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5.

^a Appian. in *Mithridaticis*. Dion Cassius, lib. 37. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5.

did not work upon him, because he had, by the frequent taking of his Mithridate, so fortified his body against all poisons, that none could hurt him; but this cannot be true; for Mithridate hath no such effect against deadly poisons. Besides poisons, according to their different sorts, operating different ways, that is, some by corroding, and some by inflaming, and others otherwise, not any one sort of medicine can be an universal antidote against all of them.

As to the character of this prince, he was a very extraordinary person, both for the greatness of his spirit, and the endowments of his mind. He was naturally of a great capacity and understanding, and had added thereto all manner of acquired improvements. For he was learned in all the learning of those times, and although he had twenty-two several nations under his dominion, he could speak to every one of them in their own proper language.^b And he was of that great sagacity, and employed it so effectually in the observation and inspection of his affairs, that although a great number of plots and conspiracies had from time to time been framed against him, none of them escaped his discovery, excepting that in which he perished. He was a prince of great undertakings,^c and although he failed in most of those wherein he had to do with the Romans, yet his spirit never sunk with his fortune, but it ever bore him up against all his misadventures; and, after his greatest losses, his wisdom and application always found means in some measure to repair them, and bring him again upon the scene of action; and thus it was with him to the last, having always, as often as overthrown, Antæus like, risen up again with new vigour to maintain his pretensions. And his last undertaking for the invading of Italy sufficiently shews, that, though his fortune often forsook him, yet his stout heart, his courageous spirit, and his enterprising genius, never did. And had not the treason of his own people at last cut him off, perchance, in the latter

^b Plinius, lib. 7, c. 24. & lib. 25, c. 2. Valerius Maximus, lib. 8, c. 7. Quintilian, lib. 11, c. 2. Aurelius Victor in Mithridate. A. Gellius, lib. 17, c. 17.

^c Videas Dionem Cassium, Appianum, L. Florum, Plutarch. aliosque.

part of his life, the Romans might have found him a much more dangerous enemy to them than at any time before. Cicero saith of him,^d that he was the greatest of kings next Alexander. It is certain the Romans had never to do with a greater crowned head in all their wars. But his vices, on the other hand, were as great as his virtues. The chiefest of them, and which were most predominant in him, were his cruelty, his ambition, and his lust. His cruelty was shewn in the murder of his mother and his brother, and the great number of his sons and his friends and followers, which at several times, and often on very slight occasions, he had put to death. His ambition was manifest by his many unjust invasions on other men's rights, for the augmentation of his dominions, and the most wicked methods of treachery, murder, and perfidiousness, which he often took in order hereto. His lust^e appeared in the great number of his wives and concubines, which he had to serve it. Wherever he found a handsome young woman, he took her unto him into one or other of these two sorts, whereby the number of them became very great. Some of them he carried with him wherever he went, others he dispersed into his strong castles and fortified towns, there to be reserved for his use, either when he should come that way, or otherwise should think fit to send for them. But, when reduced to any distress,^f he always poisoned those whom he could not safely carry off, or else otherwise despatched them: and in the same manner in this case used his sisters and his daughters, that none of them might fall into the enemy's hands. Only one of his wives,^g called Hypsicratia, always accompanied him wherever he was forced to take his flight. For being of a strong body and a masculine spirit, she did cut off her hair, put on man's apparel, and accustomed herself to the use of arms and the war horse, rode always by his side in all his battles, and accompanied him in all his expeditions, and in all his flights, especi-

^d In Lucullo sive Academicarum Questionum, lib. 1.

^e Appian. in Mithridaticis. Plutarch. in Lucullo & Pompeio, aliique.

^f Plutarch. & Appian. ibid. Dion Cassius, lib. 36. 37.

^g Plutarch. in Pompeio. Valer. Max. lib. 4, c. 6. Eutrop. lib. 6.

ally in the last of them, when, after being vanquished by Pompey in the Lesser Armenia, he made his dangerous and difficult retreat through the Scythian nations into the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus; in all which journey she rode by his side by day, and took care both of him and his horse at night, doing to him the office of a valet in his lodgings, and that of a groom in his stable; for which reason Mithridates took great delight in her, as affording him by this attendance the greatest comfort he had in his calamities; and by reason of this masculine spirit in her, Mithridates was used to call her Hypsicrates in the masculine gender, instead of Hypsicratia. But of all his wives, Stratonice,^h by reason of her extraordinary beauty, was most beloved by him, though she were no other than a musician's daughter. Mithridates, in the decline of his affairs, had placed her in a strong castle in Pontus, called Symphorium, where finding herself like to be deserted, she delivered the place to Pompey upon terms of safety for herself, and also for her son, which she had by Mithridates, in case he should happen to fall into the Roman's hands; which Pompey having granted, continued her in possession of that castle, and of most of the effects in it. Her son, called Xiphares, was then with his father, while he yet remained in Pontus. Hereon the cruel man, to be revenged on her, carried this son of his to the opposite side of the frith over against which the castle stood, and there slew him within her view, and left the dead body unburied on the strand. Many of these his wives and concubines fell into Pompey's hands, during this war, on his taking the castles and fortresses where they were kept; and it is remarked of him,ⁱ to his great honour, that he meddled not with any of them, but sent them home all untouched to their parents and friends, who most of them were kings or princes, or other great men of those eastern parts. By these many wives and concubines he had a great number of sons and daughters; many of his sons, he slew in his displeasure, and

^h Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridat. Dion Cassius, lib. 37, p. 33.

ⁱ Plutarch. *ibid.*

several of his daughters he poisoned, when he could not carry them off in his flights. However, some of them fell into the hands of the Romans. Five of the sons and two of the daughters^k Pompey carried with him to Rome, and there caused them to be led before him in his triumph. Next Hannibal, he was the most terrible enemy the Romans ever had, and their war with him was the longest of any. The continuance of it, according to Justin,^l was forty-six years, according to Appian forty two,^m according to L. Florusⁿ and Eutropius forty,^o and according to Pliny thirty;^p but according to the exact truth of the matter, though we reckon the beginning of the war, from Mithridates' seizing Cappadocia (which gave the first occasion for it,) from that time to the concluding of it in his death, will be no more than twenty-seven years; this for the sake of a round number, Pliny calls thirty, and thereby comes nearest to the truth.

Pompey, on his coming into Syria, marched directly to Damascus, with purpose from thence to make war upon the Arabians. On his arrival at that city,^q the cause of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus was brought to his hearing, and they both there appeared in person before him, according as he had ordered, and at the same time several of the Jews came thither against both. These last pleaded, "That they might not be governed by a king; that it had been formerly the usage of their nation to be governed by the high priest of the God they worshipped, who, without assuming any other title, administered justice to them, according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers; that it was true indeed the two contending brothers were of the sacerdotal race; but they had changed the former manner of the government, and introduced another form, that they might thereby subject the people to slavery." Hyrcanus on his part urged, "That, being the elder brother he was unjustly deprived of his birth-right by Aristobulus,

^k Plutarch. & Appian. *ibid.*

^l Lib. 37, c. 1.

^m In *Mithridaticis*.

ⁿ Lib. 3, c. 5.

^o Lib. 6.

^p Lib. 7, c. 26.

^q Joseph. *Antiq. lib. 14, c. 5; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.*

who having left him only a small portion of land for his subsistence, had usurped all the rest from him; and as a man born for mischief, practised piracy at sea, and rapine and depredation at land, upon his neighbours." And, for the attesting of what Hyrcanus had thus alleged, there appeared about one thousand of the principal Jews, whom Antipater had procured to come thither for that purpose. Hereto Aristobulus answered, "That Hyrcanus was put by from the government merely by reason of his incapacity to manage it, and not through any ambition of his; that, being an inactive slothful man, and utterly unfit for the business of the public, he fell into the contempt of the people; and that therefore he was forced to interpose of necessity for the preserving of the government from falling into other hands; and that he bore no other title in the state, than what Alexander his father had before him." And for the witnessing of this, he produced several young gentlemen of the country in gaudy and splendid apparel, who did not by their dress, or by their behaviour, bring any credit to the cause of him they appeared for. Pompey, on this hearing, saw far enough into the cause, to make him disapprove of the violence of Aristobulus; but, however, he would not immediately determine the controversy, lest Aristobulus, being provoked thereby, might obstruct him in his Arabian war, which he then had his heart much upon. And therefore giving fair words to both brothers, he dismissed them for the present, promising that, after he should have reduced Aretas and his Arabians, he would come in person into Judea, and there settle and compose all matters that were in difference between them. Aristobulus, perceiving which way Pompey's inclinations stood, went away from Damascus in an huff, without taking leave, and, returning into Judea, there armed the country for his defence; which procedure much incensed Pompey against him.

In the interim he prepared for his war against the Arabians. Aretas, though he had hitherto contemned the Roman arms,^r yet when he found them so near

^r Plutarch. in Pompeio. Dion Cassius, lib. 37. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

him, and ready to make invasion upon him with their victorious army, he sent ambassadors to make his submission. However, Pompey marched to Petra, the metropolis of his kingdom; and, having taken the place and Aretas in it, he put him into custody, but afterwards again released him on his submitting to the terms required, and then returned to Damascus.

On his coming back thither, being informed of the warlike preparations which Aristobulus was making in Judea, he marched into that country against him.^s On his arrival thither, he found Aristobulus in his castle of Alexandrion, which was a strong fortress, situated in the entrance of the country, on an high mountain, where it having been built by Alexander, the father of Aristobulus, it for that reason bore his name. Pompey there sent him a message to come down to him, which he was very unwilling to obey; but at length, by the persuasion of those about him, who dreaded a Roman war, he was prevailed with to comply, and accordingly went down into the Roman camp; and, after having had some discourse with Pompey about the controversy between him and his brother, returned again into his castle; and this he did two or three times more, endeavouring, by these compliances, to gain Pompey on his side, for the deciding in his favour the controversy between him and his brother. But still, for fear of the worst, he was at the same time arming all his castles, and making all other preparations for his defence, in case the sentence should go against him; which Pompey having received an account of, forced him, on his last coming down to him, to deliver up all his castles to him, and to sign orders for this purpose, to all that commanded in them; which Aristobulus being necessitated in this case to do, he grievously resented the putting of this force upon him; and therefore, as soon as he was got again out of Pompey's hands, he fled to Jerusalem, and there prepared for war. He being resolved to retain his kingdom, was actuated by two contrary passions about it, that is, hope and fear. When he saw any reason to hope

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 5; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5. Plutarch. Appi. & Dion Cassius, ib. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 762, 763.

for Pompey's determination on his side, he complimented him with all manner of compliances to gain his favour; but, when there was any cause given to make him fear the contrary, he took contrary measures. And this was what made him act with so much unsteadiness through all this whole affair. On this flight of his to Jerusalem, Pompey marched after him; and the first place where he next pitched his camp was at Jericho; and there^t he had the first news of the death of Mithridates. It was brought^u thither to him by special messengers sent from Pontus with letters to him about it. The messengers coming with their spears wreathed about with laurel, which was always a token of some victory or other important advantage gained to the state, the army was greedy to know what it was; and whereas, they being then newly encamped, there was in that place no tribunal as yet erected for the general, from thence to speak to them, and it would require some time regularly to make it up with turfs, laid one upon another, as was their usage where they encamped; for the supply of this defect, they upon a sudden heaped up their pack-saddles one upon another, and thereby having made an advanced place, Pompey ascended up upon it, and from thence communicated to them, that Mithridates, having laid violent hands upon himself, was dead, and that Pharnaces his son, having seized his kingdom, submitted that and himself to the Roman state; and that therefore the war which had so long vexed them was now at an end: which being very welcome news to the whole army, as well as to the general, they spent the remainder of the day in rejoicing for it.

Josephus, on his making mention of Pompey's encamping at this time at Jericho,^x takes occasion from thence to tell us, that this city was famous for the balsam there produced, which is the most precious of unguents. It is a distillation from the balsam tree,^y which is a shrub that never grows higher than two or

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 6; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

^u Plutarch. in Pompeio.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 6; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

^y See Ray's Herbal, book 31, c. 23.

three cubits. About a foot from the ground, it spreads into a great many small branches, of the bigness of a goose quill. Incisions being made in them, from thence^z distilled the balsam during the months of June, July, and August. The incisions were usually made with glass, a bonning knife, or a sharp stone, and not with iron. For it is said,^a that, if the tree were wounded with iron, it immediately died; but this was not true, unless the incision were made too deep, of which there being danger from a sharp iron knife, for this reason only no such knife was made use of in this operation. Pliny tells us,^a that these balsam trees were no where to be found but in Judea, and there only in two gardens, of which one contained about twenty jugera,^b and the other not so much. But now Egypt hath this tree, and Judea none of it. The truth of the matter, (as Bellonius and Prosper Alpinus tells us,) is, neither Judea nor Egypt is the natural country of these trees, but Arabia the Happy. Their argument for it is, that in Arabia the Happy they grow naturally, but not so in Judea or Egypt, where they never grow, but as cultivated in gardens; and that in Egypt the best cultivation cannot keep them from decay, so that they are forced frequently to fetch thither new plants from Arabia. And what we have from Josephus is agreeable hereto. For he tells us (*Antiq. lib. 8, c. 2,*) that, among other valuable things which the queen of Sheba brought with her from Sheba (which was in Arabia the Happy,) to present king Solomon with, one was a root of the balsam tree. And from this root, it is most likely, were propagated all the other balsam trees that afterwards grew in Judea; and Jeri-

^z Hence it is called *Opobalsamum*, that is, the gum or unguent coming by distillation from the balsam tree: for *balsamum* properly signifieth the balsam tree, and *opobalsamum* the unguent distilling from it: for *ὄππος*, in the Greek language, signifieth any gum, juice, or liquor, distilling from any tree, or from elsewhere.

^a Plinius, lib. 12, c. 25.

^b Pliny had this from Theophrastus, but doth not rightly render it: for what he renders by the Latin word *jugera* is in the Greek of Theophrastus *πλεθρα*. But the Latin *jugerum* contains two Greek *πλεθρα*: for a Greek *πλεθρον* contains one hundred feet square, that is, one hundred feet broad and one hundred feet long; but the Latin *jugerum* contains two Greek *πλεθρα* put together, for it is one hundred feet broad and two hundred feet long; so that twenty Greek *πλεθρα* contain only ten Latin *jugera*.

cho being found the properest soil for them, it thenceforth became the sole place where they were found in that country. But the gardens in which they were there cultivated having been long since destroyed, there are now no more of those balsam trees to be found in Judea. But there are many of them still in Egypt; and from thence and Arabia comes all the balsam which is now brought into these western parts. But all that is brought from Egypt is not the produce of that country; the greater part of it is brought thither from Arabia to Alexandria, and from thence to us; but now, I understand, the East India company import it to us directly from Arabia by the way of the Red sea. When it came to us only by the way of Egypt, it was imported thither from Mecca, a city in Arabia, not far from the country where the balsam tree naturally grows; and hence physicians, in their prescriptions, call it *Balsamum e Mecca*, that is, the balsam of Mecca. But in our apothecaries' shops it is here called the Balm of Gilead; which name is given it, upon supposition that the balm which is said in Scripture to come from Gilead was the same with that which is now said to come from Mecca. But the Hebrew word, in the original text, which we translate balm, is *Zori*, which the rabbies interpret to mean any gum of the rosinous sort. In Jeremiah it is mentioned as a drug which the physicians used,^c and in Genesis^d it is spoken of as one of the most precious products of the land of Canaan; and in both it is said to be from Gilead. If this *Zori*, of the Hebrew text be the same with the balsam of Mecca, it will prove the balsam tree to have been in Gilead long before it was planted in the gardens of Jericho, and also before the queen of Sheba brought that root of it to king Solomon which Josephus mentions. For the Ishmaelites traded with it from Gilead to Egypt, when Joseph was sold to them by his brethren, and Jacob sent a present of it to the same Joseph, as a product of the land of Canaan, when he sent his other sons to him into Egypt to buy corn. It seems most likely to me, that the *Zori* of Gilead, which we render

^c Chap. viii, 22; xlv, 2.

^d Chap. xxxvii, 25; xliii, 2.

in our English Bible by the word balm, was not the same with the balsam of Mecca, but only a better sort of turpentine then in use for the cure of wounds and other diseases.

From Jericho^e Pompey led his army to Jerusalem. On his approach thither, Aristobulus, repenting of what he had done, went out to Pompey, and endeavoured to reconcile matters with him, by promising a thorough submission, and also a sum of money, so the war might be prevented. Pompey, accepting the proposal, sent Gabinus, one of his lieutenants, with a body of men to receive the money. But, when he came to Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and no money to be had; but was told from the walls, that those within would not stand to the agreement; whereon Pompey, not bearing to be thus mocked, clapped Aristobulus (whom he retained with him) in chains, and marched with the whole army directly for Jerusalem. It was, by reason of its situation, as well as its fortifications, a very strong place, and might have held out long against him, but that they were divided within among themselves. That party which was for Aristobulus were for defending the place, especially by reason of the indignation with which they were moved at Pompey's making their king a prisoner. But those who favoured the cause of Hyrcanus were for receiving Pompey into the city; and they being the greater number, the other party retired into the mountain of the temple, and having broken down the bridges over the deep ditches and valleys that surrounded it, resolved there to maintain themselves. Whereon Pompey, being received into the city by the other party, set himself to besiege the place. Most of the sacerdotal order stuck by the cause of Aristobulus, and were shut up with those that seized the temple for the support of it. But the generality of the people were on the other side; and Hyrcanus, at the head of them, supplied Pompey with all necessities within his power for the carrying on of the siege. The north side of the temple being observed to be

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 7; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 51

the weakest part of it, Pompey there began his approaches. At first, he offered the besieged terms of peace; but, these being rejected, he forthwith began, with the utmost vigour, to press the place. And, for this purpose, having gotten from Tyre battering-rams, and all other engines of war proper for a siege, he applied them with the best skill and the utmost diligence he was able for the speedy forcing of the place. However, it held out three months, and would have done so much longer, and perchance would at last have necessitated the Romans to have raised the siege, had it not been for the superstitious rigour with which the Jews observed their sabbath. Formerly it had been carried so high,^f that they would not defend their lives on that day, but, if then assaulted, would rather patiently yield their throats to be cut than stir an hand in their own defence. But, the mischief and folly of this being sufficiently made appear in what they suffered from it in the first beginnings of the Maccabean wars,^g it was then determined, that a necessary defence of a man's life was not within the prohibition of the fourth commandment. But this being understood to hold good only against a direct and immediate assault, but not against any antecedent preparative leading thereto, it reached not, in their opinion, to the allowing of any work to be done on that day for the preventing or destroying the worst designs of mischief, till they came to be actually executed against them. Although,^h therefore, they vigorously defended themselves on the sabbath day, when assaulted, yet they would not then stir an hand either for the hindering of the enemy's works, or the destroying of their engines, or obstructing their erecting of them, as they did on other days: which Pompey perceiving, ordered, that no assault should be made upon them during their sabbaths, but that those days should be employed wholly in carrying on their works, and in erecting and fitting their engines in such manner, as they might best do execution in the next days of the week fol-

^f 1 Maccab. ii, 32—38.

^g 1 Maccab. ii, 41.

^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 8; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 762, 763. Dion Cassius, lib. 37.

lowing; in all which attempts, the besieged never giving them any obstruction on those sabbaths, for fear of breaking their law, the Romans observing the order mentioned, took the advantage hereof, and by this means filled up the ditches with which the temple was fortified, brought forward their engines of battery, and placed them to the best advantage without any opposition, and were thereby enabled to play them so effectually, that, having at length beaten down a great strong tower, which drew a great part of the adjoining wall with it into the same ruin, a breach was made large enough for an assault, which Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, who had his station next it, immediately mounting, drew the rest of the army after him; who, on their thus entering the place, made a dreadful slaughter of those whom they found within, so that it is reckoned no less than twelve thousand of them fell in this carnage; and none acted more cruelly herein than the Jews of the contrary faction did against their own brethren. Among all this scene of dreadful destruction, it is remarked,ⁱ that the priests that were then in the temple went on with the daily service of it, without being deterred either by the rage of their enemies or the death of their friends, choosing rather to lose their lives amidst the swords of the prevailing adversary, than desert the service of their God; and many of them, while they were thus employed at this time, had their own blood mingled with the blood of the sacrifices which they were offering, and fell themselves, by the swords of their enemies, a sacrifice to their duty; which was an instance of steady constancy much admired by Pompey himself, and is scarce any where else to be thoroughly paralleled. Among the prisoners was one Absolom, a younger son of John Hyrcanus, who, having been contented to live in a private condition under Alexander Janneus his brother, had the benefit of his protection, and hitherto had never meddled with any public business. But, having married his daughter to Aristobulus, this now engaged him in his faction. Those prisoners who were

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 8; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

found to have been the incendiaries of the war, Pompey caused to be put to death, and among them, most likely, this Absolom was one; for after this we hear no more of him; and, since he was the father-in-law of Aristobulus, no doubt he was one of the chief among those that adhered to his faction.

And thus, after a siege of three months, was the temple of Jerusalem taken by the Romans, in the end of the first year of the 179th Olympiad. Caius Antonius, and M. Tullius Cicero, being then consuls at Rome, about the time of our midsummer, and on the day which the Jews kept as a solemn fast^k for the taking of Jerusalem, and the same temple with it, by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. As soon as the Romans had thus made themselves masters of the place, Pompey, with several others of the chief commanders of the army accompanying him, went up into it, and, not contenting themselves with viewing the outer courts,^l caused the most sacred parts of the temple itself, to be opened unto them, and entered not only into the holy place, but also into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by their law to enter, but the high priest only once in a year, on their great day of expiation; which was a profanation offered this holy place, and the religion whereby God was there worshipped, which the Jews were exceedingly grieved at, and most grievously resented beyond all else that they suffered in this war. Though Pompey found, in the treasuries of the temple,^m two thousand talents in money, besides its utensils, and other things of great value there laid up,^m yet he touched nothing of all this, but left it all entire, for the sacred uses to which it was devoted, without the least diminution of any

^k That the temple was now taken on the day of a solemn fast is said, not only by Josephus in the places last above cited, but also by Strabo, lib. 16, p. 763. The fast for the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar was on the ninth day of their month Tamuz, (2 Kings xxv, 31,) which usually falls about the time of our midsummer, sooner or later, according as their intercalations happen; but, in their present calendars, it is translated to the eighteenth of that month.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 8; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5. Taciti. Hist. lib. 5, c. 9.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 8; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5. Cicero in Oratione pro Flacco.

part; and, the next day after, ordered the temple to be cleansed, and the divine service to be there again carried on in the same manner as formerly. However, this did not expiate for his profanation of God's holy temple, and the impiety of which he made himself guilty thereby. Hitherto he had found wonderful success in all his undertakings, but in this act it all ended. For hereby having drawn God's curse upon him, he never prospered after. This over the Jews was the last of his victories.

On his concluding this war,ⁿ he demolished the walls of Jerusalem, and then restored Hyrcanus to the office of high priest, and made him also prince of the country, under the payment of tribute to the Romans, but would not allow him to wear a diadem, or to extend his borders beyond the old limits of Judea. For he deprived him of all those cities which had been taken from the Coele-Syrians and Phœnicians by his predecessors. Gadara (which was one of them) having been lately destroyed by the Jews, he ordered to be rebuilt, at the request of Demetrius his freed-man and chief favourite, who was a native of that place; and then, having added that and all the rest of those cities to the province of Syria,^o he made Scaurus president of it, and, leaving him there with two legions to keep the country in order, returned towards Rome, carrying with him Aristobulus, with Alexander and Antigonus, his two sons, and two of his daughters, as captives to be led before him in his triumph. But Alexander, while on the journey thither, made his escape, and returned into Judea, where he raised new troubles, as will be in its due place related.

In this same year,^p of Attia the wife of Octavius, and daughter of Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar, was born Octavius Cæsar, who, being adopted by his uncle Julius, succeeded him in his estate and power; and being afterwards, by the name of Augustus, made supreme commander of the Roman empire, governed it

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 8; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

^o Appian. in Syriacis, & de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 8; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 5.

^p Suetonius in Augusto, c. 4, 5. A. Gellius, lib. 15, c. 7.

with great felicity, and thorough peace, when Christ, the Prince of peace, and Saviour of the world, was, by taking our nature upon him, born into it. Suetonius tells us, in his life of Augustus, (chap. 94,) and quotes for it the authority of Julius Marathus,^q who was a freed-man of Augustus', and wrote his life, that a few months before the birth of this great emperor, there was an oracle given out, and then made public, that nature was at that time producing a king, who should govern the Roman empire; at which the senate being terrified, for the preventing of it, made a decree, that no male child born that year, should be brought up; but that such of the senators as had then pregnant wives, hoping each of them that that oracle might be fulfilled in his family, took care that this decree was never carried into the treasury; and therefore, through want of being there registered, received, and laid up among the public records of the state, it lost its force, and had none effect. If this oracle were typically fulfilled in the birth of Augustus, it was ultimately and really so only in the birth of Christ, the spiritual King and Saviour of the whole world, the time whereof was then approaching.

Pompey, coming to Amisus in Pontus, on his return from Syria,^r had the body of Mithridates there sent to him from Pharnaces, with many gifts to procure his favour. The gifts Pompey received; but as to the body,^s looking on the enmity to be dead with the person, he offered no indignity to it, but, giving him the honour due to so great a king, generously ordered his corpse to be carried to Sinope, to be there buried among the sepulchres of his forefathers, in the ancient burial place of the kings of Pontus, adding such expenses for the funeral as were necessary for the solemnizing of it in a royal manner. On this his last coming into Pontus,^t he took in all the remaining fortresses and castles that had been there held for Mithridates. For, although they that had the command of

q Suetonius, *ibid.* c. 79.

r Dion Cassius, lib. 37. Plutarch. in Pompeio.

s Dion & Plutarchus, *ibid.* Appian. in Mithridaticis.

t Appian. *ibid.*

them saw all lost on the death of Mithridates, yet they deferred the surrendering of them till Pompey himself should arrive, that, putting all immediately into his hands, they might not be made answerable for the embezzlements of under officers. In some of these castles he found vast riches, especially at Telaura, where was the chief wardrobe or storehouse of Mithridates. For therein were two thousand cups made of the onyx stone, and set in gold, with such a vast quantity of all sorts of plate, household goods, and furniture, and also of all manner of rich accoutrements for war, both for man and horse, that the questor or treasurer of the army was thirty days in taking an inventory of them.

After this Pompey^u having granted to Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, and declared him a friend and ally of the Roman people, he marched into the province of Asia, properly so called, and there put himself into winter quarters in the city of Ephesus. While he lay there, he distributed rewards to his victorious army, giving to each private soldier fifteen hundred drachms, and proportionably more to all the officers, according as they were in higher or lower posts of command in the army: on which occasion he expended, out of the spoils taken in this war, sixteen thousand talents, and yet reserved twenty thousand talents more^x to be carried into the public treasury at Rome in the day of his triumph; and, to make this as glorious as he could, was what he had now a main view to.

On Pompey's having left Syria,^y Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, began again to be troublesome to that province; whereby Scaurus

An. 62. Hyrcanus II. 2.

^u Dion in Pompeio. Plutarch. lib. 27. Appian. *ibid*.

^x Plutarch. in Pompeio.

^y Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 9; *de Bello Judaico*, lib. 1, c. 6.

wanted; and the other, by going in an embassy to Aretas, induced him to buy his peace of Scaurus for three hundred talents of silver, which was much to the satisfaction of both. After this Scaurus being recalled, Marcius Philippus^z was made president of Syria in his room.

Pompey having spent his winter at Ephesus in the manner as mentioned,^a in the spring he passed from thence through the isles into Greece, and from thence to Brundisium in Italy, and so on to Rome; where having in an oration to the senate, acquainted them, that he had waged war with twenty-two kings,^b and that whereas he had found the Proper Asia the utmost province of the Roman empire, he had made it to be the middle of it,^c by reason of the many provinces which he had conquered beyond it, a triumph was decreed him for these victories; but desiring to take it on his birth day,^d which was past for this year, he deferred it till that day should come about again the next year after.

When being forty-five years old,^e he solemnized this triumph for two days together with great pomp and glory, wherein were led before him three hundred and twenty-four of the noblest captives, among which were Aristobulus, king of Judea, and his son Antigonus, Olthaces, king of Colchos, Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia, and five sons and two daughters of Mithridates'. It was peculiar to this triumph of his,^f that, on his entering the capitol, he did not, as other triumphers used to do,^g put any of his captives to death, neither did he, after his triumph

^z Appian. in Syriacis.

^a Plutarch. in Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Dion Cassius, lib. 37.

^b Orosius, lib. 6, c. 6.

^c Plinius, lib. 7, c. 26. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 5. This was not then true, or at any time after. For Proper Asia was never made the middle of the Roman empire. Beyond the Tigris it was never extended eastward, but at this time it reached westward as far as the Atlantic ocean, and from thence to Proper Asia was no more than double the distance of the Tigris from that province.

^d That is, Pridie Calend. Octob. Plin. lib. 7, c. 26; lib. 37, c. 2.

^e Plutarchus, Appianus, & Dion Cassius, lib. 37. Plinius, lib. 7, c. 26; lib. 37, c. 2. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 40.

^f Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^g Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7, c. 24.

was over, leave any of them in prison, excepting only Aristobulus and Tigranes; all the rest he sent home into their respective countries at the expenses of the public. Hitherto Pompey had shined in great honour above all else of his time, and had wonderful success in all his undertakings, for which he deservedly had the name of *Magnus*, i. e. *The Great*. But after this he sunk in his character and in his power,^h till at length he fell to nothing, and died by vile and murderous hands in a strange land, where he wanted the honour of a funeral. By what fact he drew this curse upon him, I have already shewn; and therefore, in this triumph, the glory of this great man ending, I shall with it here end this book.

^h Videas de hac re verba Plutarchi. in Pompeio.

THE
Old and New Testaments
CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK VII.

POMPEY, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar,^a having entered into a confederacy for the supporting of each other in all their pretensions upon the Roman state, thereby engrossed in a manner the whole power of it, and divided it among themselves; which laid the first foundation of those civil wars which afterwards broke out between Pompey and Cæsar, and at length ended in the destruction of the old Roman government, by changing it from a republic to a monarchy, under which that empire sunk by quicker degrees than it had before risen. As long as Crassus lived, he balanced the matter between the other two; but, after his death, neither of them being contented with a part, each contended to have the whole. One of them could not bear an equal,^b nor the other a superiour. And, through this ambitious humour, and thirst after more power in these two men, the whole Roman empire being divided into two opposite factions, there was produced hereby the most destructive war that ever afflicted it. And the like folly too much reigns in all other places. Could about thirty men be persuaded to live at home in peace, without enterprising upon the rights of each other, for the vain glory of conquest, and the enlargement of power, the whole world might be at quiet; but their ambition, their follies, and their humour,

^a Plutarch. in Pompeio Crasso, Julio Cesare, Lucullo. Suetonius, lib. 1, c. 19. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. Dion Cassius, lib. 37.

^b Nec quenquam jam ferre potest, Cesare priorem, Pompeiusve parem. Lucan. lib. 1, v. 125.

leading them constantly to encroach upon and quarrel with each other, they involve all that are under them in the mischiefs hereof, and many thousands are they which yearly perish by it. So that it may almost raise a doubt, whether the benefit which the world receives from government be sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and mal-administrations of those that manage it.

At this time flourished Diodorus Siculus, the famous Greek historian. He was born at Agyrium in Sicily, ^c from whence he had the name of Siculus, i. e. the Sicilian. He was the author of the general history, called his Bibliotheca. He was thirty years in the collecting and writing of it, and employed so much diligence, pains, and expense herein, that he travelled over most of the countries whose affairs are treated of in this history, that so he might with the greater accuracy write of them. And, for this purpose, ^d he tells us, he went into Egypt in the first year of the 180th Olympiad, which was the 60th before Christ, the very year of which we now treat; Ptolemy, surnamed Dionysius Neos, or the New Bacchus, then reigning there. This Bibliotheca contained forty books, of which only fifteen are now remaining, excepting some few fragments and abstracts out of the rest, which are preserved in the works of other writers. It begins from the ancientest of times, and was continued down to this year. The five first books are still entire, but the five next are all wanting; the other ten still remaining are the tenth, the eleventh, and so on to the twentieth inclusive, with which all that is now extant of this author ends, in the year of the building of Rome 452, M. Livius Dentor and M. Emilius Paulus being then consuls. Of the other twenty-five books we have nothing now left us, but the fragments and abstracts which I have mentioned. Had they been all still entire, so valuable an history would have been very acceptable to the learned. The five first books, though they have a great intermixture of fable, yet

^c Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 2, c. 2.

^d Diodorus, lib. 1, part 1, & 2.

contain many valuable particulars of true antiquity, which give much light to the holy Scriptures; and the next five would have yielded much more, had they been still extant; and for this reason the loss of these five is more to be lamented than that of all the other twenty. This author lived to a very great age, for he continued down to the middle of the reign of Augustus.

The time for which Marcius Philippus was appointed to govern Syria being expired, Lentulus Marcellinus^e was sent from Rome to succeed him. Both of them had a great deal of trouble created them by the Arabs, who being a thievish sort of people, living mostly upon rapine and plunder, much infested that province during the time in which they governed it.

Julius Cæsar, being this year consul at Rome, forced Bibulus,^f his colleague, to quit to him all the administration and power of the government, which he managed with great application and address for the advancement of his own interest. In order hereto,^g he raised vast sums of money, by admitting foreign states into alliance with the Romans, and by granting to foreign kings the confirmation of their crowns. And thus he extorted from Ptolemy Auletes only, near six thousand talents. That king having only a contested title to the crown of Egypt, of which he was now in possession, he needed a declaration of the Roman senate in his favour, for the confirming and strengthening of him in that kingdom: for the procuring of this he paid unto Cæsar the sum mentioned: and by these and such like methods, he amassed that treasure and wealth, which enabled him for his after undertakings; and therefore, from hence we may date the original of all his power. His next step hereto was, he procured by a decree of the people, that,^h when the year of his consulship should be expired, he should have Illyricum and both the Gauls, that is, the Cisalpine and the

^e Appian. in Syriacis.

^f Plutarchus in Cæsare. Dion Cassius, lib. 38.

^g Suetonius in Julio Cæsare, c. 54.

^h Plutarchus in Cæsare. Dion Cassius, lib. 38.

Transalpine, for his province, to govern it as pro-consul, for five years. He had assigned him an army of four legions to carry with him into this government, and, from his entering on it, begins the history of his commentaries.

A. Gabinus, the same who hath been abovementioned as one of Pompey's lieutenants in the Mithridatic war, being made consul for the ensuing year,ⁱ obtained, by the means of Clodius, then tribune of the people, to have the province of Syria assigned to him.

An. 58. Hyrcanus II. 6.

This Clodius^k was of the noble family of the Claudii, a young gentleman of great parts, and of a very bold and enterprising genius, but excessive lewd. Lucullus having married one of his sisters, he accompanied him in his Mithridatic war; but, having lost his favour by his misdemeanors, especially in being discovered to have corrupted his own sister, the wife of that general, he could not obtain under him such a post as he expected; at which being displeased, to work his revenge, he set himself to corrupt the army, and was the main author of that mutiny in it against Lucullus, which made his last campaign in that war wholly ineffectual; for which being forced to get out of the reach of Lucullus, he fled into Cilicia, where Marcus Rex, then governour of that province, made him his admiral; but, being vanquished by the pirates of that coast, against whom he was sent, and taken prisoner by them, he sent to Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to supply him with a sum of money for the paying of his ransom; but Ptolemy being a niggardly, sordid prince, sent him only two talents, which the pirates despising, rather chose to release Clodius for nothing, than take so mean a ransom for him. On his return to Rome, he there followed his lewd way of living, and, having corrupted two others of his sisters, and also Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, and endeavoured, under the disguise of woman's apparel, to come to her into Cæsar's house,

ⁱ Cicero in *Orationibus pro Domo sua, & pro P. Sextio, & de Provinciis Consularibus*. Plutarch. in *Cicerone*.

^k Plutarch. in *Pompeio, Casare, Catone Uticensi, Cicerone, & Lucullo*. Dion Cassius, lib. 35—40.

while the chief women of Rome were there celebrating sacred mysteries, at which no man was to be present, he was for these crimes brought to a public trial, in which Cicero was one of the witnesses against him; but, by bribing the judges with great sums of money, he escaped the punishment he deserved. After this, procuring himself to be adopted by a plebeian, he thereby renounced his nobility, and got to be chosen tribune of the people, and, in that office, very much disturbed the Roman state; and, that he might gain Gabinius the consul to be on his side, who was altogether as wicked as himself, he procured that this province of Syria was assigned him by the suffrages of the people, and accordingly at the end of the year he departed thither.

After this, Clodius, resolving to make use of his office for the revenging of himself, first on Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, for not finding him money enough to pay his ransom, and also on Cicero, for giving evidence against him in his last trial, fully effected both. For, first,^l he caused a decree to pass the people, for seizing the kingdom of Cyprus, the deposing of Ptolemy the king of it, and confiscating all his goods, without any just cause for the same. This Ptolemy^m was a bastard son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and brother of Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and, on the death of his father, succeeded him in this island. He was in his manners altogether as vile and vicious as his brother; but, being withal, exceedingly niggardly and sordid, he had amassed great wealth; and to gain all this, was the chief motive which induced the Roman people to concur with Clodius for his ruin. And it is trulyⁿ reckoned one of the unjustest acts that the Romans to this time ever did. For Ptolemy had been admitted as a friend and ally of the Roman people, and had never offended them, or done them any hurt or displeasure, whereby to deserve this usage from their

^l Plutarch. in Catone Uticensi. Dion Cassius, lib. 38. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 9. Strabo, lib. 14, p. 684.

^m Trogus Prolog. 40. Strabo, *ibid*; in eo enim loco dicit, hunc Ptolemaeum fuisse fratrem patris Cleopatrae, illius scilicet, quae ultimo regnavit in Egypto.

ⁿ Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 45.

hands; but all was done merely out of a greedy and rapacious desire to take what he had. The only shew of justice for it was, that Alexander, late king of Egypt, dying at Tyre, as hath been abovementioned, did, by his last will and testament, leave the Roman people his heirs; and that therefore the kingdom of Egypt, and with it Cyprus, which was an appendix to Egypt, passed to the Romans by virtue of this donation. The matter^o of this will had been insisted on at Rome, soon after the death of Alexander, and motions had been there made, for the seizing both of Egypt and Cyprus, by virtue of it. But they having lately taken possession of Bithynia by virtue of the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrene and Libya by the like will of Apion, who were the last kings of those countries, and reduced them both into the form of Roman provinces, the senate thought it would not be to their credit, but would, on the contrary, bring them under the imputation of being over greedy, for the grasping into their hands, all foreign dominions, should they, on this pretence, seize Egypt and Cyprus also; and besides, the Mithridatic war not being at that time over, they feared this might involve them in a new war, before they were rid of the other; and therefore they did no more at that time, on the claim of the said will, than to send to Tyre, to fetch from thence all the effects which Alexander there left at his death, and dropped all the rest. But^p now this pretence as to Cyprus was again revived, and, to gratify Clodius' revenge, and the covetousness of the people of Rome, the decree passed among them for the seizing of it, and all that Ptolemy there had; and Cato, the justest man in Rome, was sent, much against his will, to execute it; which was done not only, that, by the character of so just a man, some reputation might be given to this unjust act, but especially, that thereby a way might be made for Clodius with the more ease to execute his revenge upon Cicero. He designed to bring an accusation against him before the people, for that he

^o Cicero in *Orationibus prima et secunda in Rullum*.

^p Plutarch. in *Catone Uticensi*, et in *Cicerone*. Dion Cassius, lib. 38. Strabo, lib. 14, p. 664.

had, while consul, put to death several of those who were of Catiline's conspiracy, by the order of the senate only, without bringing them to a legal trial. But, foreseeing that he should have much opposition herein from Cato, for the preventing of it, contrived to send him out of the way on this expedition; and he being accordingly gone on it from Rome, Clodius obtained his design upon Cicero, and caused him to be banished Rome and Italy; whereon he went into Greece, and there continued, till after sixteen months he was again recalled.

Cato coming to Rhodes, in his way to Cyprus, ^q sent to Ptolemy, to persuade him quietly to recede, promising him hereon the high priesthood of Venus at Payhos, on the revenues whereof he might be supported in a state of plenty and honour; but he would not accept hereof. To resist the Roman power, he was not able, and to be less than a king, after he had so long reigned, he could not bear; and^r therefore, resolving to make his life and his reign end together, he put all his riches on shipboard, and launching out into the sea, purposed by boring his ship through, to make both his riches and himself sink into the deep, and there perish together. But, when it came to the execution, he could not bear that his beloved treasure should be thus lost; he continued still in the resolution to destroy himself, but he could not bring his heart to destroy that; and therefore, expressing greater love to his dear self than to himself, carried it all back to land, and, having laid it all up again in its former repositories, he poisoned himself, and left all that he had to his enemies, as if he intended thereby to reward them for his death.^s All this Cato the next year after carried to Rome, amounting in the whole, to such a sum, as had scarce before been brought into the public treasury in any of the greatest triumphs.

^q Plutarch. in Catone.

^r Valerius Maximus, lib. 9, c. 4.

^s Plutarch. in Catone. Dion Cassius, lib. 39, p. 101. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 9. Strabo, lib. 14, p. 684. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 14. Valerius Maximus, *ibid.* Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 45.

While Cato was at Rhodes, in his way to Cyprus,^t there came thither to him Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to the other Ptolemy, that was king of Cyprus. When the Alexandrians heard of the intentions of the Romans to seize Cyprus,^u they pressed Auletes to demand that island to be restored to Egypt, as being an ancient appendant of that kingdom, or else, in case of denial, to declare war against them; which Auletes refusing to do, this refusal joined with what they had suffered from him by the exactions wherewith he had oppressed them to raise the money with which he had purchased the favour of the great men at Rome, angered them so far,^x that they drove him out of the kingdom; and he was then going to Rome, there to solicit the assistance of the senate for his restoration. On his coming to Cato,^y and entering into discourse with him upon this affair, Cato blamed him for quitting that state of honour and happiness which he was possessed of in his kingdom, and thus exposing himself to the disgrace, trouble, and contempt, which, as an exile, he must expect to meet with. And, as to the help he expected from Rome, he laid before him, what great gifts and presents for the obtaining of it would be extorted from him by the great men of that city, whose greedy expectations, he freely told him, were such, that although Egypt were to be sold, the purchase money would not be sufficient fully to satisfy them. And, therefore, he advised him to return again into Egypt, and there make up all differences with his people, offering himself to go with him to help him herein. Ptolemy at first approved of this advice, and resolved to be guided by it; but, being beaten off it by the worse advice of his followers, he went forward to Rome, where he soon found, by full experience, all to be true that Cato had told him; for he was there made pay great attendance on the leading men of the commonwealth, and expend vast sums among them, to procure them

^t Plutarch. in Catone.

^u Dion Cassius, lib. 39.

^x Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Plutarchus in Catone. Epitome Livii, lib. 104.

^y Plutarch. *ibid.*

to favour his cause; and, after all, when there was no more left to be extorted from him,^z an oracle was trumped up out of the Sibylline books, whereby it was pretended, the Romans were forbidden to give him any help in this case. So that, after having for a year's time, solicited this matter at Rome, and expended vast sums in it, he was forced to depart from it without success.

In the mean while,^a the Alexandrians, after Auletes' departure from them, not knowing what was become of him, placed Berenice, his daughter, on the throne, and sent an embassy into Syria, to Antiochus Asiaticus,^b who, by his mother Selene, was the next male heir of the family, to invite him to come into Egypt, and there marry Berenice, and reign with her: but the ambassadors, on their arrival in Syria, finding him just dead, returned without success.

But, understanding that Seleucus his brother was still living, they^c sent an embassy to him, with the same proposal, which he readily accepted of; but Gabinius (who was now come into his province) at first hindered his going, but, however, either with his consent, or without it, he afterwards went; but^d he being a very sordid and base spirited man, and^e having given an especial instance of it in robbing the sepulchre of Alexander of the golden case which his body was deposited in, Berenice soon grew weary of him, and, to be rid of an husband, whom she justly loathed,^f caused him to be put to death. After that she married Archelaus,^g high priest of Comana, in Pontus, of whom we have above fully spoken. From Porphyry in Eusebius, we are told, that it was Philip, the son of Grypus, whom the second embassy

^z Dion Cassius, lib. 39. The words of this pretended oracle were these: If the king of Egypt comes to desire your help, deny him not your friendship, but aid him not with your forces; if you do otherwise, you shall have trouble and danger.

^a Dion Cassius, lib. 39. Strabo, lib. 17, p. 796. Porphyry. in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.

^b Porphyry. *ibid.*

^c *Ibid.* & Strabo, lib. 17, p. 796.

^d Suetonius in Vespasiano, c. 19. Strabo, lib. 17, p. 769.

^e Strabo, lib. 17, p. 794.

^f *Ibid.* p. 796.

^g Strabo, lib. 17, p. 796; lib. 12, p. 558.

invited into Egypt ; but it being now above twenty-six years since there hath been any mention made of him in history, it is most likely, that he had been long dead before this time ; and, besides, had he been now alive, he would have been too far advanced in years for the marriage proposed, it being now forty years since he succeeded his father in the kingdom of Syria. The person, therefore, whom the second embassy here mentioned, called out of Syria into Egypt, after the death of Asiaticus, must have been his younger brother ; for he was called thither as next heir ; and that the brother of Asiaticus then only was. There is often mention^h made of this younger brother of Asiaticus by such as write of those times, but none of them, who speak of him as such, acquaint us of his name. But what Strabo tells us of Seleucus Cybrosactes, puts it beyond doubt, that he was the person. For he tells us of him,ⁱ that he was called into Egypt to marry Berenice, and that he was of the Seleucian family, both which put together plainly prove this Seleucus could be none other than the younger brother of Asiaticus. For after Asiaticus' death, there was none other remaining of the Seleucian family, but this younger brother of his only ; and therefore, when he was put to death, as is abovementioned, in him ended the whole race of Seleucus, and none of it were any more left to survive the loss of that empire, which they once possessed.

Alexander, the eldest son of Aristobulus, while he was carrying prisoner to Rome by Pompey, having made his escape, as hath been already mentioned, returned into Judea ; and,^k having there gotten together an army of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and seized Alexandrium, Macherus, Hyrcania, and several other strong castles, he well fortified and garrisoned them, and from thence ravaged the whole country. Hyrcanus being too weak to take the field against him, he would have fortified Jerusalem for his defence, by rebuilding the walls which Pompey had demolished ; but the Romans not permitting this, he

^h Cicero in Verrem, lib. 4.

ⁱ Lib. 17, p. 796.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 10 ; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 6.

was forced to call them into his aid ; whereon Gabinius, president of Syria, and M. Antonius, who was general of the horse under him, came into Judea with a great army for the quelling of these troubles, and being there joined by Antipater, Pitholaus, and Malichus, with those Jews under their command that were of Hyrcanus' party, they came to a battle with Alexander near Jerusalem ; wherein Alexander, being overthrown with the loss of three thousand men slain, and as many taken prisoners, fled to Alexandrium, where Gabinius having pursued him, there shut him up and besieged him. But that castle being naturally strong as situated upon the top of an high mountain, and also well fortified by art, it could not be easily taken ; Gabinius therefore, leaving one part of his army to block it up, marched with the other part round the country to take a view of the condition it was in ; and, finding Samaria, Azotus, Gaza, Raphia, Anthedon, Jamnia, Scythopolis, Apollonia, Dora, Marissa, and several other cities lying in ruins, as having been demolished in their wars with the Asmoneans, he ordered them all again to be repaired, and then returned to the siege of Alexandrium ; where repaired to him the mother of Alexander, a very wise and discreet woman, who being solicitous for her husband and children that had been carried captive to Rome, in order to obtain favour for them, endeavoured to recommend herself to the Romans all she could, that so she might be the better enabled to intercede in their behalf ; and therefore, having with this view done them all manner of service wherever she had power, she thereby so ingratiated herself with Gabinius, and got so great an interest in him, that she obtained every thing of him she desired. And therefore, by her means, a treaty of peace being commenced, Alexander surrendered Alexandrium, and all his other castles ; which being immediately razed to the ground, by the advice of this lady, that they might not become the occasion of another war, he was thereon dismissed with pardon and impunity for all that was past.

After this Gabinius, going up to Jerusalem,¹ restored Hyrcanus to the high priesthood, but made a very

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 10 ; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 6.

considerable alteration in the civil government, changed in a manner the whole form of it, and reduced it from a monarchy to an aristocracy. Hitherto^m the government had been managed under the prince by two sorts of councils or courts of justice, one consisting of twenty-three persons, called the Lesser Sanhedrim, and the other of seventy-two persons, called the Great Sanhedrim. Of the first sort there was one in every city; only in Jerusalem, because of the greatness of the place, and the multiplicity of business thence arising, there were two of them sitting apart from each other in two distinct rooms. Of the other sort there was one only always sitting in the temple at Jerusalem till that time. The lesser sanhedrims despatched all affairs of justice arising within the respective cities where they sat, and the precincts belonging to them. The great sanhedrim presided over the affairs of the whole nation, received appeals from the lesser sanhedrim, interpreted the laws, and by new institutions from time to time, regulated the executing of them. All this Gabinius abolished,ⁿ and, instead hereof, erected five courts, or sanhedrims, investing each with sovereign power independent of each other. The first of them he placed at Jerusalem, the second at Jericho, the third at Gadara, the fourth at Amathus, and the fifth at Sepphoris; and, having under these five cities divided the whole land into five provinces, he ordered all to repair for justice to these courts, which he had established in them; that is, each to the court of that province of which he was an inhabitant, and there every thing was ultimately determined. The tyranny of Alexander Janneus had made the Jews weary of regal government; and therefore they had formerly^o petitioned Pompey for the abolishing of it at the time when he heard the cause of the two brothers at Damascus; and, in compliance with them, he went so far as to take^p away the diadem and the name of king, though

^m Vide Talmudis Tractatum Sanhedrim, & Maimonidem in Sanhedrim, aliosque de hac re Scriptores Rabbinicos. The English reader may find an abstract of all that is said in these authors of this matter in Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple, chap. 20. sect. 2, & chap. 22.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. ibid.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 5.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20, c. 8.

he did not the power. For, when he restored Hyrcanus, he gave him the sovereign authority, though under another style. But now they prevailed with Gabinius to take away the power as well as the name, which he effectually did by the alteration I have mentioned. For hereby he changed the monarchy into an aristocracy, and, instead of the prince, thenceforth the nobles of the land had, in these five courts, the sole government of it. But afterwards Julius Cæsar,^q on his passing through Syria, after the Alexandrian war, re-invested Hyrcanus in the principality, and restored again the old form of the government as in former times. But, besides these two sorts of sanhedrims or courts,^r there was a third among the Jews, which was not effected by any of these alterations, but stood the same under all of them; and this was the court of Three, which was for the deciding of all controversies about bargains, sales, contracts, and other such matters of common right between man and man; in all which cases one of the litigants chose one judge, and the other another, and these two chose a third; which three constituted a court to hear and ultimately determine the matter in contest. And something like this I hear is now in Denmark, whereby such cases as with us make long and chargeable suits, are summarily heard and finally determined by a like court of three in the same manner chosen; before which each party pleads his own cause, and hath speedy justice awarded him without the assistance of solicitors, attorneys, or any other such agents of the law. Thus much for the information of the English reader concerning the sanhedrims or courts of justice, which were anciently in use among the Jews. Those who would dive further into the knowledge of them may read the Mishnical tract Sanhedrim, and the Gemara upon the same, Maimonides' tract under this same title, *Selden de Synedrîis*, Cock's Sanhedrin, and others.

Towards the latter end of the year,^s Aristobulus, late king of Judea who was led in triumph by Pom-

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 17.

^r Talmud in Sanhedrim 7.

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 11; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 6.

pey, and after that shut up in prison at Rome, having with his son Antigonus made his escape thence, returned into Judea, and there raised new troubles. For immediately great numbers resorted to him; among whom was Pitholaus, who hitherto had been one of the chief leaders on the side of Hyrcanus, and was at present governour of Jerusalem; but having now taken some disgust, (for what is not said,) went over to the other side, carrying with him one hundred men well armed. Aristobulus having, out of all those that came in unto him, selected such as had arms, formed with them an army, and dismissed all the rest. He first re-edified Alexandrium, and, having furnished it with a strong garrison, marched with the rest, being about eight thousand men, towards Macherus, another strong place beyond Jordan, lately demolished, designing to restore and garrison that also in like manner as he had Alexandrium. But Gabinius, hearing of these doings, sent Sisenna his son, with Antonius and Servilius, two of his chief lieutenants against him, who, having overtaken him in his march to Macherus, and forced him to an engagement, vanquished him, with the slaughter of five thousand of his men. Aristobulus, with one thousand of the remainder, got to Macherus, and there they endeavoured to fortify and maintain themselves. But, on the coming up of the Romans to them, they were soon overpowered: for, after two days resistance, the place was taken, and Aristobulus, being grievously wounded, was taken in it, with Antigonus his son, and both were sent back again to Rome into their former jail. But Gabinius having informed the senate, that he had promised the wife of Aristobulus, on her procuring the yielding up of the castle, that her children should be released, it was accordingly performed; for Aristobulus only being retained in chains, Antigonus and all the rest of his children were permitted to depart, and return again into Judea.

Orodes and Mithridates, the sons of Phra-
hates king of Parthia,^t conspiring against
their father, impiously became the authors of his

An. 56. Hyrcanus II. 8.

^t Dion Cassius, lib. 39. Appian. in Parthicis & Syriacis. Plutarch. in Crasso.

death, after he had reigned over the Parthians about twelve years. The ambition of reigning having been the cause of this parricide, it became the cause also of great contention between the two brothers, while each strived to possess the throne, which they had by their horrid wickedness made vacant. Orodes, being the elder brother, first took possession of it, but was soon displaced, and driven into banishment by Mithridates. But he having soon made himself odious to the Parthians by his cruelty, Surenas, who, next the throne, held the first place of honour and power in that kingdom, took the advantage of it again to bring back Orodes, to whose interest he had all along adhered, and replaced him again on the throne. Whereon Mithridates, being forced into the banishment from which his brother was returned, fled to Gabinius, and, on his arrival in Syria, finding him preparing for an expedition against the Arabs, he persuaded him rather to turn his arms against the Parthians, for the effecting of his restoration. And Gabinius' heart being wholly set upon gain, he was easily prevailed on to hearken to him, as knowing that, the Parthians being a rich nation, most plunder was there to be had. And accordingly he set himself on his march that way, taking Mithridates along with him for his guide. But, on his having passed the Euphrates, he was accosted with another proposal. For thither came to him Ptolemy Auletes, ^u the deprived king of Egypt, with letters from Pompey, and offered him ten thousand talents to re-establish him again in his kingdom. The reward being very great, and the enterprise much less dangerous, both these considerations together induced him to undertake the matter; and therefore, quitting his intended expedition against the Parthians, he repassed the Euphrates, and marched through Palestine directly into Egypt. Whereon Mithridates, finding his cause deserted, ^x returned into Babylonia, and there seized Seleucia; where Orodes straitly besieging him, brought

^u Dion Cassius, lib. 39. Plutarch. in Antonio. Cicero in Oratione pro Rabirio Posthumo. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 11; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1,

⁶ Appian. in Syriacis & Parthicis.

^x Justin. lib. 42, c. 4.

him to that distress, that he voluntarily surrendered himself, out of hopes of having his life spared, as being a brother: but Orodes, looking on him more as an enemy than as a brother, caused him to be slain before his face.

On Gabinius' arrival on the borders of Egypt,^y he sent Antony with a body of horse to seize the passes, and open the way for the rest of the army to follow. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards, as triumvir, governed one third part of the Roman empire for several years. He accompanied Gabinius into Syria as general of the horse under him, as hath been already mentioned, and in that service first signalized himself. Being a young man of great courage and a bold spirit, he was the chief promoter of this expedition, though most of the other general officers were against it. But Antony giving his opinion as best agreed with Gabinius' greediness, carried it against them all. And as he was the chief adviser of this undertaking, so also was he the most vigorous actor in it; and, by his first success herein, made way for all the rest: for he not only secured all the passes which he was sent to seize, but took also Pelusium, which was on that side the key of Egypt; and the taking of it opened the way, and became the inlet to all the rest of the kingdom. For this success^z he was much beholden to Hyrcanus and Antipater, who not only assisted the Romans in their march with all necessaries, but, by letters, prevailed with the Jews of the country of Onion, near Pelusium, to be helpful unto them, without which Antony could not so soon have made himself master of that city. Archelaus^a was at this time king of Egypt, as having been called thither after the death of Seleucus Sybiosactes, to marry Berenice, and reign with her in that kingdom, as hath been already related. He having contracted an intimate friendship with Gabinius, while he served under Pompey as one of his lieutenants in the Mithridatic

^y Plutarch. in Antonio.

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 11; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 6.

^a Dion Cassius, lib. 39. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 558; lib. 17, p. 796. Plutarch. in Antonio. Livii Epitome, lib. 105.

war, he came out of Pontus into Syria to him, on his obtaining that province, to be there assisting to him in his wars, and there also made an intimate friendship with Antony; and no doubt but it was with the knowledge and approbation of both of them, that, when called from Syria into Egypt, he accepted of the invitation. However, nothing of this could secure him from this invasion.^b The avarice of Gabinius took place of all regard to the friendship he had formerly with him.

Gabinius, as soon as he was acquainted of Antony's success, marched with his whole army into the very heart of Egypt.^c This was in the middle of winter; for then the Nile being at the lowest, Egypt was at that time the fittest for an invasion. However, Archelaus, being a very valiant and a very sensible man, omitted nothing that could be done for his defence, but stood his ground in several conflicts against the invaders. But the Egyptians being an effeminate, dastardly sort of people, forward to mutiny against all orders of war, and backward to all acts of valour in it, he could make no work of it with such hands; but, being overpowered by the well disciplined forces of the Romans, was at length finally vanquished, and himself slain in the battle, valiantly fighting in the defence of the cause which he had undertaken. After his death,^d Antony had so much regard to the friendship that had been between them, that, as soon as he heard of his being slain, he commanded his body to be sought for on the field of battle, and caused it to be buried with a royal funeral, which gained him the love of the Egyptians ever after. And perchance it was procured by a like favour from Gabinius, that his son was appointed by the Romans to succeed him at Commana. But these after acts were of too little value to make any amends for the loss of his kingdom and his life, which they had so unjustly deprived him of.

An. 55. Hyrcanus II. 9.

^b Strabo, lib. 12, p. 558; lib. 17, p. 796.

^c Dion Cassius, lib. 39. Plutarch. in Antonio.

^d Plutarch. in Antonio.

After Archelaus was slain, all Egypt was soon reduced, and forced again to receive Auletes, who was thereon thoroughly restored to his kingdom; and, for the better securing of him in it, Gabinius left some of his Roman forces with him to be for his guard,^e who, settling at Alexandria, soon exchanged the Roman manners for the Egyptian, and degenerated into the effeminacy of those among whom they dwelt. Auletes, as soon as he was again resettled on the throne,^f put Berenice his daughter to death, for having worn the crown in time of his exile; and after that proceeded to cut off most of the rich men that had been of the party against him, that, by the confiscation of their goods, he might raise the money promised Gabinius for his restoration.

Gabinius, having accomplished in Egypt all that he intended by his expedition thither, found reason to hasten back again into Syria, great disorders having there arisen in his absence. On his going into Egypt,^g he had entrusted the government in the hands of Senna his son, a raw youth, of neither age nor experience adequate to such a charge, and left so few forces with him, that, had he been ever so well capacitated otherwise, he could not with them have been able to do any service: whereon the country was filled with thieves and free booters, who ravaged it all over without controul, there being neither head nor hands then in the province sufficient to repress them. And Alexander,^h the son of Aristobulus, taking the advantage of these disorders, raised new troubles in Judea: for, having gotten together a great army, he ranged with it all over the country, and slew all the Romans he could any where find, and drove all the rest to take refuge in Mount Gerizim, where he straitly besieged them; and there Gabinius found him on his return: where seeing the great multitude of those he had with him, he thought it best first to deal with them by fair means; and therefore sent Antipater to them, to en-

^e Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Lucan. lib. 10, v. 402.

^f Strabo, lib. 17, p. 796. Dion Cassius, lib. 39. Porphyrius in Græc. Euseb. Scaligeri.

^g Dion Cassius, lib. 39.

^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 11.

deavour, by promises of impunity and oblivion, again to reduce them to quiet; and he had that success, to prevail with many of them to desist from their revolt, and return again to their own houses. But Alexander, having gotten about him an army of thirty thousand men well appointed for the war, resolved to encounter Gabinius; and, after a fierce fight near Mount Tabor, he was vanquished, with the slaughter of ten thousand of his men, and the rest were dissipated and put to flight. After this, Gabinius going up to Jerusalem,ⁱ and having settled all the things there according to the mind of Antipater, marched thence against the Nabatheans; and, having overcome them, led back his army into Syria, and there prepared for his return to Rome.

For Pompey and Crassus, being this year consuls, had, on their entering on their office,^k obtained, by a decree of the Roman people, that Spain and Africa should be assigned to Pompey for five years, and Syria and the neighbouring countries to Crassus for the like term, for their consular provinces, with full authority to take with them such forces as they should think fit to raise, and to make war wherever they should see cause, according to their own judgment, without having recourse to the senate or the people of Rome for their order about it, as all other governours were in this case obliged to do. Hereon Crassus^l sent a deputy to receive the government of Syria from Gabinius: but he refused to make resignation of it, till afterwards he was forced to quit the province by a more powerful command, that of the people and senate of Rome. For Gabinius had been an excessive corrupt governour in his province,^m doing any thing for bribes, and selling every thing for money, and extorting great sums in all places, and from all persons, wherever any could be gotten, and by all manner of means, how unjust and oppressive soever. The cla-

ⁱ Joseph. *ibid.*

^k Dion Cassius, lib. 39. Epitome Livii, lib. 105. Plutarch. in Crasso; Pompeio & Catone Uticensi. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2.

^l Dion Cassius, lib. 39.

^m Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Cicero in Oratione de Provinciis Consularibus, & in Oratione contra Pisonem.

mour which this raised all over the provinceⁿ came from all parts of it very loud to Rome against him; which so much angered both the senate and people, that they called him home to answer these accusations. But that which most exasperated them was his Egyptian expedition;^o for it was contrary to the law, for any governour of a province to go out of the limits of it, or begin any new war without express orders from the people or senate of Rome for it; and also there was then published an oracle out of the Sibylline books, which forbade the Romans at that time to meddle with the restoration of the king of Egypt; against all which Gabinius having acted without any regard to law, right, or religion, the people of Rome were hereby so far provoked against him, that they would immediately have proceeded to sentence of condemnation against him, without tarrying his return, had not Pompey and Crassus, the consuls of this year, interposed to hinder it; the first, out of friendship to him, and the other to gain the bribe by which he was corrupted. But, on his return the next year after, three actions were commenced against him, one of treason, and the other two of corruption, bribery, and other high misdemeanors. The first, by virtue of his money, which was liberally expended on this occasion, in bribing the judges, he hardly escaped by a majority of six votes only of the seventy that judged his cause; ^p but being cast in the other two he was sent into banishment,^q and there lived in poverty, till Cæsar brought him back again in the time of the civil wars. ^r For most of the money which he had raked together by oppression, bribery, and corruption, was spent in bribing and corrupting others, that so he might escape the punishment which he deserved. And thus his vast treasure which he brought with him out of the East

ⁿ Notwithstanding this clamour, it is to be observed, Josephus gives him a laudable character, as if he had acquitted himself with honour in the charge committed to him. *Antiq. lib. 14, c. 11.*

^o *Dion Cassius, lib. 39.*

^p *Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 4, ep. 16. & ad Quintum Fratrem. lib. 3, ep. 4.*

^q *Dion Cassius, lib. 39.*

^r He died in those wars in Cæsar's service. *Hirtius de Belle Alexandrino, c. 43.*

was wasted in the same way of iniquity in which it was gotten. He having been consul when Cicero was banished, and then helped forward by his authority that sentence against him, that great orator being now again returned home, remembering this injury, and suitably resenting it, aggravated his crimes to the utmost against him in his speeches both to the senate and people; and particularly we find him so doing in some of his orations still extant.

Crassus,^s having his mind much intent upon his eastern expedition, for which he had obtained a decree of the people in the beginning of the year, was very busy, towards the end of his consulship, in listing soldiers, and making all other preparations for it. But the tribunes of the people then in office,^t not approving of his purpose of making war with the Parthians, did all they could to obstruct him herein, and would fain have reversed the decree that gave him authority for it; but, being overpowered in this attempt by military force, they turned their endeavours into curses; and one of them pursued him with the most horrid and dreadful execrations,^u as he marched with his army out of Rome for this war; which were all executed upon him in the lamentable manner in which it miscarried.

Crassus, going into his province with an eager desire of amassing all the wealth he was able, An. 54. Hyrcanus II. 10. was no sooner arrived in Syria, but he set himself upon all those methods whereby he might best satiate this thirst. And, being told of the riches of the temple at Jerusalem,^x he marched thither with part of his army to make seizure of it. Eleazar, one of the priests, was then treasurer of the temple. Among other things which he had under his charge, one was a bar of gold, of the weight of three hundred Hebrew minæ. This, for the better securing of it, he had put into a beam, which he had caused to be

^s Plutarch. in Crasso.

^t Plutarch. in Crasso. Dion Cassius, lib. 39.

^u Plutarch. & Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Florus, lib. 3, c. 11. Velleius Patercul. lib. 2, c. 46. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 12; et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 6.

made hollow for the reception of it; and placing this beam over the entrance, which was from the holy place into the holy of holies, caused the vail, which parted these two places, to be hung thereat. Perceiving Crassus' design for the plundering of the temple, he endeavoured to compound the matter with him; and therefore telling him of such a bar of gold in his custody, promised to discover and deliver it to him, upon condition that he would be satisfied with it, and spare all the rest; Crassus accepted of the proposal, and solemnly promised with an oath, that, on having this bar of gold delivered to him, he would be contented with it, and meddle with nothing else. Whereon Eleazar took down the beam, and delivered it to him; but the perfidious wretch had no sooner received it, but, forgetting his oath, he not only seized the two thousand talents which Pompey left there untouched, but, ransacking the temple all over, robbed it of every thing else which he thought worth taking away, to the value of eight thousand talents more. So that the whole of this his sacrilegious plunder, which he took thence, amounted to ten thousand talents, which is above two millions of our money. And with this thinking himself sufficiently furnished for the Parthian war,^y caused a bridge of boats to be made on the Euphrates, and forthwith marched over it, and invaded the territories of the king of Parthia, without having any other cause for it than his insatiable avarice after the riches and treasures of the country. The Romans had,^z first by Sylla, and afterwards by Pompey, made leagues of peace and alliance with this people, and they had never complained of any infractions of them, or any other injuries that might give just reason for a war; and therefore the Parthians, not expecting any such invasion, were not then prepared in those parts to withstand it. Whereon Crassus overran a great part of Mesopotamia,^a and took many cities without opposition; and, had he pursued his advantage, he might have taken Seleucia and Ctesiphon

^y Plutarch. in Crasso. Dion Cassius, lib. 40.

^z L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 11.

^a Dion Cassius, lib. 40. Plutarch. in Crasso. Appian. in Parthicis.

also, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as well as of Mesopotamia. But, the summer being spent, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his army into winter quarters in the cities of Syria, leaving only seven thousand foot and one thousand horse behind to garrison the places he had taken; whereby he gave leisure for the Parthians to get ready that army, against the next year's campaign, with which they wrought his destruction. And whereas he ought, on his return into Syria, to have taken care, that, during that winter, his soldiers should have been well exercised for the war, and every thing else put in due preparation for it, he neglected all this; and, acting the part of a publican rather than of a general, employed himself wholly in examining into the revenues of the province, and screwing them up to the utmost height he was able, and in using all other methods of exaction, whereby to enrich himself. And the plundering of the temple at Jerusalem was not the only sacrilege he was guilty of: he did the same all over the province, where ever any riches were to be gotten, especially at Hierapolis: for there being in that city an ancient temple of the Syrian goddess called Atargetis,^b where much treasure was laid up, as having been the collection of many years, he seized it all, and was so greedy of securing the whole of it, that, lest any should be detained or embezzled, he spent a great deal of his time to see it all told out and weighed before him. On his last coming out of this temple, his son, going before him, stumbled at the threshold, and he immediately after it upon him. This was afterwards interpreted as an ill omen, foreboding that destruction which they soon after fell into in their battle against the Parthians, the son first, and afterwards the father.

As soon as the season of the year grew proper, ^c Crassus called all his army together out of their several quarters, for the prosecuting of the war which he had begun upon the Parthians. They not expecting a war the last year,

An. 53. Hyrcanus II. 11.

^b Concerning this goddess, see above, part 2, book 4, under the year 163.

^c Dion Cassius, Plutarchus, & Appian. *ibid*

were then unprovided to receive him ; but, having the respite of all the last winter, they had now gotten ready a very great army for their defence. But, before they entered with it on any action, ambassadors were sent from Orodes their king to the Roman general, to know for what reason he made war upon him : to which having received no other answer, but that he would declare it when he should come to Seleucia, returned with certain notice, that nothing but war was to be expected ; and therefore Orodes, having divided his army into two parts, marched in person with one of them towards the borders of Armenia, and sent the other under the command of Surenas, into Mesopotamia ; who, as soon as he was there arrived, retook several of those places which Crassus had made himself master of the former year : whereon the garrison soldiers that escaped, flying to the Roman camp, filled it with a terrible report of the number, power, and strength of the enemy ; which did cast such a damp upon the whole army, that not only the common soldiers, but also the general officers, fell in their courage as to this expedition ; so that some of them, and especially Cassius, Crassus' questor (the same who was afterwards a chief actor in the murder of Julius Cæsar, and was then, next the general, the most considerable person in the army,) persuaded Crassus to stop a while, and well consider the matter over again, before he proceeded any further in it. At this same time came to him Artabazes, or Artavasdes (for he is called by both names,) king of Armenia, who had lately succeeded Tigranes his father in that kingdom. He brought with him six thousand horse, which were only his life guard. Besides these, he told Crassus he had ten thousand cuirassiers and thirty thousand foot ready for his service ; but advised him by no means to march his army through the plains of Mesopotamia, but to take his way through Armenia into the Parthian dominions. His reasons for it were, that Armenia being a rough mountainous country, the Parthian horse, of which their army did mostly consist, would there be useless ; and also there he could take care that his army should be plentifully provided with all neces-

saries; both which would be otherwise, if he led his army through the plains of Mesopotamia; for the Parthian horse would there have their thorough advantage against him, and he would often in that country meet with sandy deserts, where he would be distressed for want both of water and all other provisions for his army. This was the best advice that could be given him: but, being condemned to suffer the destruction which his sacrilegious robbing of God's temple at Jerusalem deserved, he despised it all, telling Artabazes, that, having left many valiant Romans to garrison the towns which he had taken the last year in Mesopotamia, he was necessitated to take that way, that they might not be deserted to the mercy of the enemy; but that, as to his auxiliaries, he accepted of them, and ordered him speedily to bring them to him; and the prospect of so considerable a reinforcement chiefly encouraged him, contrary to the advice of the wisest about him, to proceed on this expedition; and therefore, without any further delay, he passed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and again entered Mesopotamia with his army. But Artabazes, on his return, finding Orodes on his borders with a great army, was forced to stay at home to defend his own country, and therefore could not give Crassus the assistance which he had promised him.

On Crassus' being thus entered Mesopotamia,^d Cassius advised him to put in at some of his garrisoned towns, and there rest and refresh his army for a while, till he should have gained certain intelligence of the number, strength, and power of the enemy, and in what place and posture they were in; but, if he thought not fit to make any such delay, that he should take his march to Seleucia down along the banks of the Euphrates; for by keeping close to that river, he would avoid being surrounded by the Parthians, and, by his ships upon it, he might be constantly supplied with provisions and all other necessaries which he should be in want of. But, while he was considering on this advice, and thinking to follow it, there came

^d Plutarch. in Crasso. Appian. in Parthicis. Dion Cassius, lib. 40.

to him a crafty Arabian, who beat him off these and all other measures, excepting those which tended to his ruin, whereinto at length he effectually led him. He was the head of an Arabian tribe (such as the Greeks call Phylarchs, and the present Arabs Sheiks,) and, having formerly served under Pompey, was well known to many in the Roman army, and looked on as their friend; and for this reason he was made choice of, and sent by Surenas to act this part; and he did it so artfully and effectually, that the ruin of Crassus and his army was chiefly owing hereto. He is by different authors called by different names.^e But, whatever his name was, on his coming to Crassus, he persuaded him off from that wise and good advice which Cassius had given him, telling him, that the Parthians durst not stand him; that he had nothing else to do for the gaining of an absolute victory over them, but to march against them and take it; and offered himself for a guide to conduct him the directest way to them; which Crassus, beguiled by his fair words, and bewitched by his flattery, accepted of: whereon he led him into the open plains of Mesopotamia; and, although Cassius and others suspected the treachery of this man, and therefore pressed Crassus no longer to follow him, but to retreat to the mountains, where he might best be able to baffle the power of the Parthian horse; and messengers then came to his camp from Artibazes, of purpose to persuade him to the same thing; yet, being overpowered by the false and lying pretences of this man, he still followed him, till at length the traitor, having led him into a sandy desert, where the Parthians might have the best advantage to destroy him, rode off to Surenas to acquaint him of it; who, thereon falling upon him, gave a terrible defeat to the whole Roman army, wherein Publius Crassus, the general's son, and great numbers of other Romans, were slain, and the rest forced to fly to Carrhæ (the ancient Haran of the holy Scriptures,) nigh which the battle was fought, where they

^e By Dion Cassius he is called Augarus or Abdarus, by Plutarch Ariamnes, by Florus Mazeres, and by Appian Acharus.

rested the day after: but, the night following, Crassus, endeavouring to escape, committed himself to the guidance of one Andromachus, another traitor, who having led him into the midst of bogs and morasses, he was there overtaken by Surenas, and slain; and many other noble Romans there underwent the same fate with him. Cassius at first accompanied Crassus in his retreat; but, soon finding reason to suspect that Andromachus conducted him with as much treachery as his last Arabian guide, returned again to Carrhæ, and from thence, with five hundred horse, made his way back unto Syria, by a valiant and well conducted retreat. This defeat was the greatest blow which the Romans had at any time received since the battle of Cannæ, having lost in it twenty thousand men slain,^f and ten thousand taken prisoners; the rest making their escape by several ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria, after that again gathered together, and^g formed an army under Cassius in Syria, whereby he was enabled to preserve that province from falling into the hands of the enemy. Crassus made a great number of false steps in the whole conduct of this war; and, although he was often warned and told of them, yet, being deaf to all good advice, he obstinately followed his own delusions, till he perished in them: for being, for his impious sacrilege at Jerusalem, justly destined to destruction, God did cast infatuations into all his councils, for the leading him thereto. Orodes^h was at this time in Armenia, having there made peace with Artibazes. For Artibazes, on the return of the messengers, which he last sent to the Roman camp, finding, by the account which they brought him of the measures which Crassus took in that war, that he must necessarily be undone, compounded all matters with Orodes; and, on giving one of his sisters in marriage to Pacorus, the son of Orodes, restored himself to full amity with him by this alliance. And, while they were sitting together at the nuptial feast, in came a messenger, who presented Orodes with the head and hand of

^f Plutarch. in Crasso.

^g Dion Cassius, lib. 40. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 13. ^h Plutarch. in Crasso.

Crassus, which Surenas had caused to be cut off, and sent to him. This much increased the joy and mirth of the feast. And it is said, that melted goldⁱ was then poured in the mouth of the decollated head by way of mockage, as if they would this way satiate his great and greedy thirst after it. However, Surenas did not long rejoice in this victory, for Orodes, envying him the glory of it, and also growing jealous of the great augmentation which accrued herefrom to his power and interest, soon after caused him to be put to death.^k This Surenas^k was a very extraordinary person; though he was but thirty years old, yet he was of consummate wisdom and discretion, in valour and prowess he exceeded all of his time, and as to his person, no one was of a larger size, or better shaped; and for wealth, power, and authority, he was much above all others, next the king, the first man in the kingdom. The honour of crowning the king belonged to him by his birth, it having been long in his family, and by right of inheritance descended to him. Whenever he travelled from place to place, he always had one thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for the service of his wives and concubines, and one thousand completely armed horsemen for his lifeguard, with a great many more light armed, besides his retinue of servants, which amounted to ten thousand more. However, all this could not secure him; for, still having a tyrant above him, he lost his life by his command, in the manner as I have mentioned.

The Parthians, thinking to find Syria, after the late defeat of the Roman army, void of defence, made an invasion^l upon that country.

An. 52. Hyrcanus II. 12.

But Cassius, on his escape thither, having gotten together the army I have mentioned, gave them such a warm reception, that they were forced to repass the Euphrates with baffle and disappointment. They came now but with a small army, expecting no

ⁱ Dion Cassius, lib. 40. L. Florus, lib. 3, c. 11.

^k Plutarch. in Crasso.

^l Dion Cassius, lib. 40.

opposition. But, when they found that they had to deal with another sort of man than Crassus, and that he had greater strength about him than they could stand before, they retreated again into their own territories, to fetch more forces for a second invasion. In the interim, Cassius went to Tyre;^m and, having settled all matters on that side of the province, marched into the country of the Jews, and there besieged Tarichæa, a city on the southern shore of the lake of Gennesareth, where Pitholaus had shut himself up with the remainder of Aristobulus' faction, to which he had lately revolted. Cassius, having taken the place, carried all into slavery whom he took therein; only Pitholaus he put to death, by the advice of Antipater, as the likeliest way to quell the faction which he then headed. After this, having forced Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to terms of peace, he marched to the Euphrates to oppose the Parthians, who were preparing to make another invasion into Syria.

M. Calpurnius Bibulus had Syria,ⁿ and M. Tullius Cicero Cilicia,^o assigned them by the Romans for their consular provinces. This Bibulus was the same who had been consul with Julius Cæsar. Cicero soon went to his charge; but Bibulus making delays, Cassius still continued to govern Syria, and it was well for the Roman interest in that province that he did so, the affairs of it then needing an abler man than Bibulus to manage them; for, as soon as the spring grew up, Pacorus,^p the son of Orodes, king of Parthia, passed the Euphrates with a great army, and invaded Syria. Pacorus, being then very young, had only the name of general; Osaces, an old and experienced commander, who was sent with him, had truly the direction and government of the whole war. On his entrance into Syria,^q he marched on to Antioch, and laid siege to the place, shutting up Cassius, with all his forces, in it. Cicero,^r who was

An. 51. Hyrcanus II. 13.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. c. 12; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 6.

ⁿ Dion Cassius, lib. 40.

^o Plutarch. in Cicerone. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 3. ep. 2.

^p Dion Cassius, lib. 40. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 15, ep. 1—4, et ad Atticum, lib. 5, ep. 18.

^q Dion Cassius, lib. 40.

^r Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 15, ep. 1—4.

now in his province, receiving intelligence hereof from Antiochus, king of Commagena, gathered together all the forces he could, and marched to the eastern borders of his province, lying next Armenia, that, being there, he might not only keep the Armenians from invading Cappadocia, but also be nigh at hand to assist Cassius, in case of need. And, at the same time, he sent other forces towards the mountain Amanus, for the same purpose; who,^r falling on a great party of Parthian horse, which had that way entered Cilicia, cut them all off to a man. An account hereof,^s and of Cicero's approach, coming to Antioch, much encouraged Cassius and his men in the defence of the place, and so discouraged and intimidated the Parthians,^t that, despairing of carrying the place, they raised the siege, and, marching to Antigonia, another Syrian city in the neighbourhood, sat down before it. But, having there as little success as at Antioch, by reason of their utter unskilfulness of managing such sieges, were forced in like manner to rise from before it, and march off. Whereon Cassius,^u laying an ambush in their way, and having drawn them into it, gave them a thorough defeat, slaying great numbers of their men, and Osaces, their general, among them. Hereon the Parthian army repassed the Euphrates; but, towards the end of the summer, they returned again,^x and wintered in Cyrrhestica, a northern district of the province of Syria. In the interim, Bibulus being come into his province, Cassius delivered to him the government, and returned to Rome.

Cicero, on his hearing of the departure of the Parthians, from Antioch,^y turned his forces against the inhabitants of Mount Amanus, who, lying between Syria and Cilicia, (for that mountain is the common boundary of both,) submitted to the governours of

^r Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 15, ep. 1—4.

^s Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 2, ep. 10, et ad Atticum, lib. 5, ep. 20, 21.

^t Dion Cassius, and Cicero, *ibid*.

^u Dion et Cicero, *ibid*. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 46. Epitome Livii, lib. 108. Sextus Rufus in Breviario. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 13. Eutropius, lib. 6. Cicero in Philippica 11.

^x Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 5, ep. 21, et lib. 6, ep. 1.

^y Plutarchus in Cicerone. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 15, ep. 4, et lib. 2, ep. 10, et ad Atticum, lib. 5, ep. 20.

neither of these provinces, but lived in a state of war with both, making continual inroads and depredations upon those countries. These Cicero totally subdued, taking all their castles, and destroying all their strong holds. After this^z he fell upon another barbarous and savage sort of people in those parts, who called themselves the *Eleuthero Cilices*, that is, *The free Cilicians*, pretending never to have yielded subjection to any of the kings that bore rule over those countries; and, having taken all their cities, utterly subdued them, and brought them under order, to the great comfort and satisfaction of all their neighbours, to whom they were a constant plague. Hereon Cicero was saluted imperator by the whole army, which was a title usually given by the Roman soldiers to their general after some signal victory; and, on his return from this war, he was received^a with the general joy and acclamation of all his provincials, for his good success therein, and the benefit which they received from it. And, for this he had, on his coming back to Rome,^b the honour of a triumph offered to him. But the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey being then ready to break out, he waved it for that reason, as not thinking any public solemnity of rejoicing proper, when the public state of his country was just falling under so great a calamity.

This same year,^c died Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt.^d He left behind him two sons and two daughters. By his will^e he bequeathed his crown to the eldest of his sons, and the eldest of his daughters, ordering them to be joined to each other in marriage, according to the usage of their family, and both, jointly together, to govern the Egyptian kingdom. And because they were both at that time very young (Cleopatra the eldest of them being then but seventeen,) he committed them to the tuition of the Roman state. This was the Cleopatra who was afterwards so infat-

^z Plutarchus in Cicerone. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 2, ep. 10, et lib. 15, ep. 4, et ad Atticum, lib. 5, ep. 20.

^a Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 5, ep. 20.

^b Plutarch. in Cicerone.

^c Ptolemæus Astronomus in Canone. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 8, ep. 4.

^d Cæsaris Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3.

^e Ibid. lib. 2. Dion Cassius, lib. 42.

mous for her lascivious amours, especially with Mark Antony the Roman triumvir.

Bibulus being now in his province, had thither brought him from Alexandria^f the ill news of the death of two of his sons, young men of great hopes, who were there slain by the Roman horsemen, whom Gabinius left in that city for a guard to Ptolemy Auletes, on his restoring him to his kingdom. Cleopatra, who then governed Egypt with her brother, sent the murderers to Bibulus, that he might revenge this fact in such a manner as he should think fit. But he sent them back with this message, that the revenging of this wrong belonged not to him, but to the senate of Rome.

An. 50. Hyrcanus II. 14.

And while he was under this grief, he had another trouble brought upon him by the Parthians, who made another invasion upon Syria. For they having wintered in Cyrrhestica,^g on this side the Euphrates, as soon as the season was proper, again took the field; and marching to Antioch, besieged that city a second time, with Bibulus and all his forces in it. Bibulus bore the siege without making as much as one sally for the driving of the enemy thence. But what he durst not attempt by force, he effected by craft: for having,^h by his agents, encouraged Ordonopantes, a noble Parthian, who had been much disgusted by Orodes, to raise a rebellion against him, this army was called back to suppress it; whereby Bibulus and the whole province of Syria were delivered from a war which very much distressed them. At the end of the year, the time of his government expiring,ⁱ he returned to Rome, and arrived there when the war between Cæsar and Pompey was just breaking out; in which war joining with Pompey,^k he became his chief admiral, and died of sickness in that office on board the fleet which he commanded for him.

^f Valerius Maximus, lib. 4, c. 1. Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Seneca ad Marciam.

^g Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 2, ep. 17, et lib. 12, ep. 19, et ad Atticum, lib. 6, ep. 8, et lib. 8, ep. 2.

^h Dion Cassius, lib. 40.

ⁱ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 7, ep. 3.

^k Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3.

For the differences between Cæsar and Pompey arising to that height, that they could no otherwise be decided, but by the sword,¹ Cæsar, in the beginning of our December, passed the Rubicon; and thereby began that war between them which brought destruction upon them both, and at length ended in the total subversion of the Roman republic. On this march of Cæsar's, Pompey with all his party, left Rome, and hasted to Brundisium, thence to pass over into Epirus, and Cæsar pursued him to that port. But although he arrived thither on the twenty-sixth of December, seven days before Pompey's departure thence, yet he could not hinder his passage.

For, on the third of January following, he sailed out of the port of Brundisium, and landed with all the forces he had about him on the other side of the Adriatic, in the country where he intended, and there did set himself to gather together such an army, as might enable him to stand the enemy,^m for which Cæsar allowed him a whole year's time. For as soon as Pompey was gone from Brundisium, he returned back from thence, and in sixty days time, having reduced all Italy under him, came to Rome. On his arrival thither, having comforted the people with fair words and promises of doing all things for the advantage of them and the republic,ⁿ he released out of prison Aristobulus king of Judea, and sent him with two legions into his own country to promote his interest there, and in the neighbouring parts of Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia; but those of Pompey's party found means to give him poison in his way, whereof he died. And whereas Alexander,^o the son of Aristobulus, had, on the expectation of his father's return, raised forces to join him on his arrival, Pompey sent orders to Scipio to put him to death; and therefore having caused him to be taken and

¹ Plutarch. in Cæsare, Pompeio, Catone, Cicerone, et Antonio. Cæsaris Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 1. Dion Cassius, lib. 41. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2.

^m Plutarch. Cesar, et Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 2. Sueton. in Julio Cæsare.

ⁿ Dion Cassius, lib. 41. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 13; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 7.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 13; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 7.

brought to Antioch, there condemned him in a formal trial, and cut off his head. This Scipio was Q. Metellus Scipio,^p who had been consul with Pompey three years before, and then married him to Cornelia his daughter, she being at that time a widow on the death of Publius Crassus her former husband, who was slain with his father in the Parthian war. On Bibulus' return, he was appointed president of Syria,^q and, on Pompey's leaving Rome, he was hastened thither with Cneius, the eldest of Pompey's sons, to secure that province to him, and all their shipping for the augmenting of his fleet. And to oppose him herein was it, that Cæsar released Aristobulus, and sent him into Judea. And had he arrived there with the forces assigned him, he would no doubt have fully answered the end for which he was ordered thither, and very much embarrassed, if not wholly baffled, all Pompey's designs in those parts.

From Rome, Cæsar passed into Spain.^r For that province being in Pompey's hands, with several forces there attached to his interest, Cæsar thought fit not to leave such a country behind him in the power of his enemy; and therefore marched through Gallia thither, and, having subdued Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants in that country, settled the whole province in his interest, he returned again to Rome about the time of the autumnal equinox. On his arrival thither, he was declared dictator; but, after eleven days, again laying down that office, he and Servilius Isauricus were elected consuls for the ensuing year. And,^s immediately after, he hasted away to Brundisium, there to pass the Adriatic into Greece against Pompey. And having, in order hereto, directed all his forces to rendezvous at that city, he sailed over from thence with seven of his legions, and, having safely landed them at a port near the promontory of

p Plutarch. in Pompeio. Dion Cassius, lib. 40, 41. Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3.

q Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 1. Plutarch. in Pompeio. Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 9, ep. 1.

r Plutarch. in Cesare. Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 1, 2. Dion Cassius, lib. 41.

s Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Plutarch. in Cæsare & Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 41.

Ceraunium, he sent back Calenus, one of his lieutenants, with his fleet, to bring over the rest which he left behind; but several months passed before Antony, who had the command of them, found an opportunity to gain a safe passage for them over that sea, by reason of Pompey's fleet, which had beset all those coasts to intercept them.

It being about the end of October that Cæsar landed his seven legions on the Grecian side of the Adriatic, there to prosecute the war against Pompey, almost a whole year had passed since he last marched back from Brundisium, for the reducing of Italy and Spain. And therefore Pompey, having all this time to furnish himself with forces for this war,^t had now gotten together a very numerous army out of Grecia, Asia, and all the eastern countries, and also as potent a fleet to support his interest at sea. But the season being winter, it would permit neither of the fleets to be abroad at sea, nor the armies to take the field at land; so that both sides lay still in their winter quarters.

But when the spring came on,^u both sides prepared for action, and Cæsar having now gotten the rest of his forces over to him, each army took the field, and encamped against each other near Dyrrahium, now called Durazzo. In several skirmishes Cæsar had the better; but at length in one of them he received so great a defeat, that he acknowledged he must then have been utterly undone, had Pompey seen his advantage, and pursued it. This having made him pass the ensuing night without sleep, by reason of the trouble of his mind for what had happened, he spent it wholly in considering the ill state of his affairs, and, by revolving it over in his thoughts, came to see,^x that he had been guilty of a great error in carrying on this war against Pompey on the sea side where the enemy had a great fleet abso-

^t Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. Dion Cassius, lib. 41.

^u Plutarch. in Cesare, Pompeio, Catone, & Antonio. Cæsar's Comment, de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. Dion Cassius lib. 41.

^x Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3.

lutely to command those seas, and he none at all. For hereby Pompey's army was constantly supplied with all necessaries, and Cæsar's on the other side as much distressed for want of them; and therefore, condemning himself for this conduct, he resolved immediately to alter it, and accordingly decamped the next day, and marched towards Thessaly, where was plenty of all things, purposing thereby to draw Pompey after him to a battle, or else to fall on Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, who was then in Macedonia. I have abovementioned how he was sent from Rome, before Pompey receded from thence, to be provincial governor of Syria. On his arrival thither, he grievously pillaged and oppressed that country, with all manner of exactions, to raise money for the carrying on of this war in the behalf of his son-in-law, for whose cause, of all others, he expressed the greatest zeal; whereby, having set on foot an army at land, and equipped a great fleet at sea, he marched with the army towards Greece, there to join Pompey, and committed the fleet to the charge of Cneius, Pompey's eldest son; who, taking in fifty other auxiliary ships from Egypt, sailed with them to the Adriatic, and there joined the rest of his father's fleet. Scipio, in his march, having led his forces through the Lesser Asia, and augmented them in his way with as many others as he could pick up in those countries, had passed the Hellespont with them, and was at this time come as far as Macedonia, in order to join Pompey for the strengthening him in this war: and there Cæsar purposed to fall upon him, if Pompey should not march after him to prevent it. Pompey and those with him not being aware at all of the true reasons which put Cæsar on this march, took it to have been the consequence of his defeat the day before, as if, after that, he durst not stay there any longer; and therefore marched after him, as in pursuit of one that fled. And Cæsar having taken his route through Epirus and Acarnania, in a way which was somewhat about, Pompey, the sooner to come up with him, took the shortest cut through Macedonia. In this march Scipio joined Pompey, and Domitius

Calvinus joined Cæsar, with their armies, and both at length met in the plains of Pharsalia in Thessaly, where it came to a decisive battle between them. Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, y and one thousand horse: but Pompey's was above twice as many; for he had forty-five thousand foot, and five thousand horse: but they being most of them raw and unexperienced men, gotten together out of the effeminated nations of Lesser Asia and the East, they could not stand before Cæsar's veterans; and therefore, notwithstanding the great superiority of their number, they were soon vanquished and broken,^z fifteen thousand being slain, twenty-four thousand made prisoners of war, their camp taken, and all the rest dissipated and driven to fly for their lives. Pompey,^a when he found his camp lost, as well as the battle, fled in disguise, and, having gotten to the next sea port on the Thessalian shore, passed over to Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, where he had, some time before, sent Cornelia his wife, with Sextus his younger son; and, having there taken them on board his ship, sailed down the Archipelago, and put in at Attalia in Pamphylia. As soon as it was known that he was in that port, there came thither to him some ships from Cilicia, and about two thousand soldiers, and with them sixty Roman senators, who had escaped the late battle. Hearing, while here, that his fleet was still safe, and that Cato, having gathered together the remains of his broken army, had put them on board his ships, and sailed with them for Africa, he reflected with much grief on the great error he had committed in being drawn from the sea shore to fight Cæsar in the inland country. For, had he continued still near his fleet, he might, on failing at land, either have reinforced his army from sea, or else have shipped it off into some other part of the Roman empire,

y Plutarch. in *Caesare Caesaris Comment. de Bello Civili*, lib. 3.

z This is Cæsar's own account in his *Commentaries of the civil war*, book 3; but Plutarch and Appian reckon the number of the slain to be no more than six thousand, and quote for it Asinius Pollio, a Roman historian, contemporary with Cæsar.

a Plutarch. in *Pompeio*. Dion Cassius, lib. 42. *Cæsar's Comment.* lib. 3.

and there have anew tried his fortune. But, it being now too late to remedy this false step, it only remained to be considered what was next to be done in the present case. His first resolution was to land in Syria,^b and seize that province, and he hoped there to have, for his better support, the friendship of Orodes king of Parthia, whom he had sent Lucius Hirtius to pray his assistance, or at least a safe retreat into his kingdom in case of need. But Orodes,^c on the hearing of Pompey's misfortune, not only denied him his assistance, but clapped his ambassador in chains. When Pompey first passed over from Brundisium into Epirus, there to raise an army against Cæsar,^d he had solicited, among others, Orodes for his aid in this war. Orodes promised what he desired, but demanded Syria for his reward; and that not being granted him, he took this denial for a pretence, not only to deny Pompey his request, but also to imprison the ambassador by whom he made it. But the true meaning of it was, he had no mind to embark in a lost cause; and therefore took this method to renounce it. And upon this same principle, and at the same time, the people of Antioch,^e in conjunction with the Romans then in that city, seized the castle of Antioch, in order to exclude him thence, and forbade all of his party to approach that place on pain of death. Pompey, on his arrival in Cyprus, in his way to Syria, hearing of both these particulars, steered his course towards Egypt, not then knowing where else to go. He had been a great friend to Auletes the father of the present king, and by his procurement chiefly was it, that, when expelled his kingdom, he was again restored to it; and therefore he expected to have been received and assisted with equal kindness by his son. On his arrival in Egypt,^f he found Ptolemy with an army on the sea shore between Pelusium and Mount Casius, and Cleopatra his sister with

^b Cæsar's Comment. *ibid.*

^c Dion Cassius, *ibid.*

^d Dion Cassius, lib. 41.

^e Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3.

^f Plutarch. in Pompeio & Bruto. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2.
Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3.

another army not far from him. For, he having deprived her of that share in the government which was left her by Auletes' will, and driven her out of the kingdom, she had raised an army in Syria and Palestine for the obtaining of her restoration, and was now at war with her brother about it. Pompey, on his drawing near to land, sent messengers to Ptolemy to pray his protection and aid in his present distress. Ptolemy, being then a minor, was under the tuition of Pothinus, the eunuch that bred him up, and Achilles, the general of his army. These two taking Theodotus, a rhetorician, who was the king's preceptor, and and some others, into consult with them, advised together what answer to return. Some were for receiving him, and others for rejecting him; but Theodotus was for neither, but, in a pressing rhetorical speech, set forth to them that the only safe course they had to take was to despatch him. For, he argued, should they receive him, Cæsar would be revenged on them for their abetting his enemy; and, should they refuse to receive him, and he elsewhere gather strength, and again recover his power, he then would be revenged on them for this refusal; that therefore the only way to secure them from both was to cut him off; for this would make Cæsar their friend, and prevent the other from doing them any hurt as an enemy: for, said he, in the words of the proverb, dead men do not bite. This way of reasoning having drawn all the rest to his opinion, they all resolved on it, as the safest course they could take, and Achilles, with Septimius, a Roman commander, then in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were sent to execute it; who having in a small boat, brought Pompey from his ship, on pretence of conducting him to Ptolemy, as soon as they came nigh the shore, fell upon him and slew him; and, having cut off his head, cast his dead carcass upon the strand, where he had no other funeral but what Philip, an enfranchised bond-man of his, and a poor old Ro-

g Brutus, afterwards meeting this Theodotus in Asia, caused him to be put to death for this. See Plutarch in the Life of Brutus, and in the Life of Pompey.

man, who came thither by accident, could give him, by making him a funeral pile of the broken pieces of an old boat that lay wrecked on the shore. And thus ended the life of this great man, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. No man had enjoyed greater prosperity, till he profaned the temple of God at Jerusalem: after that, his fortunes were in a continual decline, till at length, to expiate for that impiety, he was thus vilely murdered in the confines of that country where he had committed it. This was done in the sight of his wife and his son, and the rest that accompanied him; whereon they made off to sea, with all the haste they were able. Cornelia and Sextus escaped first to Tyre, and then to Cyprus, and from thence into Africa; but most of the other ships were taken by the Egyptian galleys that pursued after them, and all that were found on board them were cruelly put to the sword, among whom was Lucius Lentulus, the former year's consul, who was the chief author of the war, by obstinately rejecting all the proposals that were made by Cæsar for peace.

In the mean time^h Cæsar, pursuing Pompey the same way in which he fled, sailed into Egypt after him, and came to Alexandria, just as the news arrived thither of his death: and soon after, on his entering the place, he was presented with his head; at the sight of which he wept, and turned away his face from it with abhorrence, as from an ungrateful spectacle, and ordered it to be buried in a proper place with all honourable solemnities. Cæsar, for the greater expedition, made this pursuit with very few forces: for, on his coming to Alexandria, he hadⁱ no more with him than eight hundred horse and three thousand two hundred foot: the rest of his army he left behind in Greece and the Lesser Asia, under the conduct of his lieutenants, for the prosecuting of the advantages of his late victory, and the securing of his interest in those parts. And therefore, confiding on his good fortune, and the fame of his great success at Pharsalia,

^h Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Plutarch. in Cæsare. Dion. Cassius, lib. 42.

ⁱ Cæsar's Comment. *ibid.*

he landed at Alexandria with these only, which had like to have proved his ruin. For these not being sufficient to defend him from the mob and mutinies of that turbulent city, he very narrowly escaped perishing by them. For the Etesian winds^k then blowing from the north, which continue in those parts during all the dog-days (in the beginning of which Cæsar entered that port,) these hinder all ships from sailing out of Alexandria as long as these winds last;^l and therefore did put a necessity upon him of tarrying there during all this season. In this vacant time^l he employed himself in calling in the debt owed him by Auletes, and in hearing and determining the controversy between Ptolemy and Cleopatra his sister. I have above mentioned how Auletes, when Cæsar was first consul, engaged him by a bribe of ten thousand talents, to get him to be confirmed in his kingdom by the Romans, and enrolled among the friends and allies of that powerful state: part, only, of this sum was then paid, for the rest he bound himself in the obligation of a debtor afterwards to discharge it. This debt now Cæsar called for, as needing it to pay his soldiers, and exacted it with rigour;^m and Pothinus, who was Ptolemy's chief minister, by several artifices, made this rigour appear to the people much greater than it was. For he bared their temples of their silver and gold utensils, and made the king and all the great officers of the court, as well as himself, to eat and drink only in earthen and wooden vessels, pretending that Cæsar had taken away all their silver and gold, that by so giving out he might the more excite the people against him. But

^k By Etesian winds are meant such as blow at stated times of the year, from what point of the compass soever they come. For they are so called from the Greek word *ετος*, i.e. a year, and originally denote yearly or anniversary winds, such as our seamen call monsoons and trade winds, which, in certain parts of the world, come and continue constantly blowing the same way for certain stated seasons of the year. Thus the north winds, which during the dog-days, constantly blow upon the coasts of Egypt that lie upon the Mediterranean, and thereby hinder all ships from sailing out of Alexandria for that season, are called Etesia in Caesar's Commentaries. And so, in other authors, the west wind, and also other winds, are called Etesiae, or Etesian, where they come at certain times, and continue blowing for certain seasons of the year. De hac re, videas Salmasii Exercitationes Plinianas in Solinum, p. 421, &c.

^l Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Dion Cassius, lib. 42.

^m Plutarch. & Dion Cassius, ibid. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 19.

that which most exasperated them, and at length drove them into a war against him, was the second article mentioned,ⁿ his calling Ptolemy and Cleopatra before him to be judged by him as to the controversy that was between them: for he had sent out his peremptory order to each of them to dismiss their armies, and bring their cause to his hearing for a final decision. This was looked on as a violation of the majesty, and an invasion upon the sovereign authority of their king, who, being an independent prince, owned no superiour, and therefore was not as a subject to be judged by any man. But to this Cæsar answered, that he did not take upon him to judge as a superiour, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of Auletes. For thereby he had put his children under the tuition of the Roman state, and all the power of the Romans being now vested in him as their dictator (to which office he had been appointed at Rome,^o as soon as they there heard of the death of Pompey,) it belonged to him to arbitrate and determine this controversy, as guardian of those children by virtue of that will; and that he claimed it no otherwise than to execute that will, and settle peace between the king and his sister, according to the purport of it. This quieting all for the present, the cause was accordingly brought to Cæsar's hearing, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead before him the matter which was in contest between them. But Cleopatra^p hearing that Cæsar was lasciviously given to the love of women (as indeed he was to great excess, though he never suffered it to hinder him in any business,) she laid a plot to take hold of him by this handle, and thereby attach him, first to her person, and next to her cause. For she being a very wanton woman, made nothing of prostituting herself to any one, either

ⁿ Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 6. Plutarch. in Caesare. Dion Cassius, lib. 42.

^o For the Romans, on their hearing that the war was thus determined in favour of Cæsar, making haste to heap honours upon him, made him dictator for a year, gave him tribunitial power during life, and decreed him many other powers, privileges, and honours. All which he immediately assumed, as soon as notified to him, notwithstanding his absence from Rome.

^p Dion Cassius, lib. 41.

for her lust or her interest, according as she was actuated by either of them. And therefore, sending to Cæsar, she complained that her cause was betrayed by those that managed it for her; and therefore prayed, that she might be permitted to come in person to him, and plead it herself before him; which being granted her,^q she came secretly into the port of Alexandria, in a small skiff, towards the dusk of the evening; and, the better to get to Cæsar, without being stopped or obstructed by her brother, or any of his party, who then commanded the place, she caused herself to be tied up in her bedding, and thus to be carried to Cæsar's apartment on the back of one of her servants; who having laid down his burden at Cæsar's feet, and untied it, up started the lady with the best airs she could put on. Cæsar was much pleased with the ingenious contrivance of her thus coming to him, but much more with the lady, with whose beauty being at the first sight thoroughly smitten, in the manner as projected, he lay with her that night, and thereby begot on her a son, who afterwards was from his name called Cæsarion. By this favour thinking himself engaged to do all things for her interest,^r the next morning he sent for Ptolemy, and pressed him to receive his sister again upon her own terms. By which Ptolemy finding, that Cæsar, from being judge, was become her advocate; and understanding also, that she was then with him in that part of the palace where he lodged, he fell into a rage hereat, and, springing out from him to the people in the street, he tore his diadem from his head, and flinging it on the ground, complained with tears and bitter clamour, that he was betrayed, and told his story in such a manner, as raised the whole city in an uproar, and brought them upon Cæsar in an universal tumult, and with the fury which in such cases is usual. The Roman soldiers who were near him, seized Ptolemy, and secured him within Cæsar's power. But, notwithstanding this, the rest of his forces being then

^q Ibid. Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Plutarch in Cæsare.

^r Dion Cassius, lib. 41.

scattered all over the city in their quarters, as not suspecting what had happened, and therefore, not being at hand to help him, he must necessarily have been overborne and torn in pieces by the enraged multitude, but that, coming out to them in a safe place aloft, and from thence speaking to them, and assuring them that all things should be done as they would have, he with difficulty appeased them for that time. And accordingly, the next day, having called the people together in a general assembly, he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra to them, and then causing their father's will publicly to be read, wherein it was ordained, that his eldest son and his eldest daughter, should, according to the usage of their ancestors, be joined in marriage, and both jointly reign together, under the guardianship of the Roman people, he decreed, by virtue of that guardianship, which was, he said, then invested in him as dictator, that Ptolemy the present king, as being the eldest son, and Cleopatra, as being the eldest daughter of the said Auletes, should, according to the tenour of the said will, reign in Egypt; and Ptolemy the younger son of the said Auletes, and his other daughter, named Arsinoe, should reign in Cyprus. This last he added by way of gift, the better to appease the people, that so he might escape their fury, which he was then in great fear of. For this island had for some time before been subjected to the Romans, as hath been above related. This contented the whole assembly, and pleased all except Pothinus. For he having been the cause of the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and also of her expulsion out of the kingdom, justly feared, that both his authority and his life would be brought into danger by her return; and therefore did all he could to hinder the execution of this decree:^s in order whereto he not only sowed new discontents and new jealousies among the people, but also prevailed with Achilles to bring his army from Pelusium to Alexandria, for the driving of Cæsar thence. His arrival put all things there again in confusion. Achilles, having twenty thousand men with

^s Dion Cassius, lib. 42. Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Plutarch. in Cæsare.

him, despised the paucity of Cæsar's forces, and thought immediately to have crushed him. But Cæsar so well disposed those forces which he had, by placing them to the best advantage in the streets and avenues in that quarter of the town which he had taken possession of, that he easily sustained the assault; and therefore, on their failing of success here, they carried the war to the port, projecting to seize the fleet there at anchor, and therewith to shut up Cæsar by sea, and exclude him from having either succours or provisions brought him that way. But Cæsar prevailing there also, ordered all that fleet to be set on fire, and at the same time seized the tower of Pharus, and placed a garrison in it.

By this means he fully secured his communication with the sea, without which he must have been soon ruined. Some of the ships, when on fire, driving to the shore, communicated their flames to the adjoining houses; which, spreading into that quarter of the city, called Bruchium, consumed the noble library that was there laid up, which had been the collection of several ages, and then contained four hundred thousand volumes, whereof a full account hath already been given.

Cæsar, finding a dangerous war thus begun upon him,^t sent for succours, to all the adjacent parts, from which he could soonest have them; and, in an especial manner, wrote to Domitius Calvinus, his lieutenant, in the Proper Asia, of the great danger he was in; who forthwith sent him two legions, the one by sea, and the other by land. That which was sent by sea arrived in time, but the other, which marched by land, never came into Egypt, the war being over before they could reach it. But none did him better service than Mithridates^u the Pergamenian. For, being sent by him into Syria and Cilicia, he brought him those forces from thence, which extricated him from all his danger, in the manner as will be by and by related.

^t Cæsar's Comment. *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 42. Plutarch. in Cæsare. Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino.

^u *Ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 42. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 14.

Cæsar, in the interim,^x that he might not be forced to fight the numerous forces of the enemy, till his succour should arrive, otherwise than when he should see cause so to do, fortified that quarter of the city where he lay with walls, towers, and other works, including within them the palace, a theatre lying next the palace (which he made use of as a castle,) and a passage to the harbour. While these things were doing, the king being still detained in Cæsar's quarters, Pothinus,^y while he was there attending on him as his governour and chief minister, carried on a correspondence with Achilles, and, by letters secretly conveyed to him, gave him intelligence of all things from thence, and encouraged him vigorously to push on the war; some of which letters being intercepted, and the treason thereby discovered, Cæsar caused him to be put to death for it. Hereon Ganymede,^z another eunuch of the palace, who had the bringing up of Arsinoe, the king's younger sister, fearing the same punishment, as having been in the same interest, and the same designs with him, secretly conveyed the young princess out of Cæsar's quarters, and fled with her to the army, who wanting one of the royal family to head them, gladly received her, and made her queen. But Ganymede, outwitting Achilles,^a caused an accusation to be formed against him, as if he had betrayed to Cæsar the fleet, which he burned in the harbour, and, having thereby procured that he was put to death, succeeded him in the chief command of the army; and thenceforth also took on him the prime administration of all the other affairs of that party, for which he was thoroughly qualified. For he was a very crafty discerning person, and found out many subtle devices for the distressing of Cæsar during the remainder of the war. By one of which,^b having spoiled all the fresh water in his quarters, he had very nigh undone him by it. For the Alexandrians hav-

^x Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3.

^y Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Dion Cassius, lib. 42. Plutarch. in Cæsare.

^z Cæsar's Comment. ibid. Dion Cassius, ibid.

^a Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino. Dion Cassius, ibid.

^b Hirtius, ibid. Plutarch. in Cæsare.

ing no other fresh water for their common use, but that of the Nile,^c as at present, so then, had all the city vaulted underneath their houses for the reception and keeping of it. Once a year, when the Nile was at the highest, it flowed through the artificial canal, which was drawn from that river to the city; and there running into those vaults through a sluice made for that purpose, from thence filled them all, they being all built without any partitions, in a general communication from one to another, under the said houses; and there it served for the common use of the inhabitants all the year after, every man having an open hole or well in his house, through which, letting down into those vaults either buckets or pitchers, he drew up what water he needed. Ganymede having stopped up all the communications which those vaults in Cæsar's quarters had with those of the rest of the town, poured into them from the sea so much salt water, by artificial engines contrived for that purpose, as spoiled all the fresh water which was repositied and kept in them. This, when perceived, raised a general uproar among Cæsar's soldiers, and he must have been forced immediately to have departed at all disadvantages, but that having ordered wells to be dug, by going deep enough, he found springs of fresh water sufficient to supply the want of that which was spoiled.

After this Cæsar^d having received an account, that the legion Calvinus sent him by sea was arrived on the coast of Libya not far from him, he went thither with his whole fleet to bring them safe to Alexandria. Ganymede, getting intelligence hereof, sent all the Egyptian fleet which he had then at hand to intercept him in his return. This produced a fight between the two fleets, in which Cæsar having gotten the victory, brought all his legion safe with him to Alexandria; and, had not night come on too soon, all the enemy's

^c Alexandria is at present thus vaulted under ground, and, to this day, they there keep the water of the Nile in those vaults for common use all the year round, in the same manner as is described by Hirtius. See Thevenot's Travels, part 1, book 2, chap. 2.

^d Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino.

ships must have fallen into his hands. Ganymede, to repair this loss, and others before sustained (for Cæsar had, by this time, destroyed at several times above one hundred and ten of their ships of war,) gathered together all the remaining ships that could be gotten from every mouth of the Nile, and, out of them another fleet being formed, entered the port of Alexandria. This produced^e another fight at sea, in which Cæsar had again the victory, but, in pursuit of it, ^e landed in the island of Pharos, and attempting to take the town in that island, and the mole leading to it, called the Heptastadium, he was beaten off, with the loss of above eight hundred of his men, and had like to have been lost himself in the rout. For, finding the ship in which he endeavoured to escape, ready to sink, by reason of the numbers of those who had crowded into it, he threw himself into the sea, and with difficulty got off by swimming to the next ship of his in the port. While thus he made his escape,^f he carried some valuable papers, which he had then about him, in one hand, and swam with the other, and so saved both himself and them.

After this loss, Cæsar^g was persuaded to send king Ptolemy to the Egyptian army, in compliance with their desire, and on a promise made him, that, when they should have their king, they would make peace with him; but after they had him at the head of the army, they pressed on the war with greater vigour than before, and, by their fleet, endeavoured to intercept all Cæsar's provisions by sea. This produced another sea fight near Canopus, in which Cæsar had again the victory; but by this time Mithridates of Pergamus was near at hand with his auxiliary army out of Syria.

It hath been abovementioned, how Cæsar sent him into Syria and Cilicia to bring him from thence all the forces he could raise in those countries for his assist-

^e Hirtius, *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 42. Sueton. in *Julio Cæsare*, c. 64. Plutarch. in *Julio Cæsare*. Appian. de *Bellis Civilibus*, lib. 2. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 15.

^f Dion Cassius, Plutarch. Sueton. et Orosius, *ibid.*

^g Hirtius de *Bello Alexandrino*. Dion Cassius, lib. 42.

ance. This commission^h he executed with so much diligence and prudence, that he soon got together a considerable army; in the effecting of which he was much helped by Antipater the Idumean. For^h he not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but he prevailed with Hyrcanus, and with several of the neighbouring princes of Arabia and Coele-Syria, and with the free cities of Phœnicia and Syria, in like manner to send him in their aid. With these forces, Mithridates, having Antipater in person with him, marched into Egypt, and, on his coming to Pelusium, stormed and took that city, which was chiefly owing to the valour of Antipater. For he first mounted the walls where the breach was made, and thereby made way to those that followed to enter and take the place. From thence marching towards Alexandria, as they were to pass the province of Onion, they found all the avenues seized by the Jews, who were the inhabitants of that part of Egypt, and thereby were obstructed from proceeding any further; and this must have disappointed the whole expedition, but that Antipater, partly by his own authority, and partly by that of Hyrcanus, and the letters which he delivered to them from him, brought them over to Cæsar's party. On the hearing of which, the people of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates was plentifully supplied with all necessaries from both. On his coming to the Delta,ⁱ Ptolemy sent an army thither to oppose his passing the Nile, this produced a battle, in which Mithridates commanded one part of the army, and Antipater the other. Mithridates at first was beaten off his ground, till Antipater, having routed the adversary on his part, came in to his assistance; whereby the battle being again restored, the Egyptians were put to a total rout, and Mithridates and Antipater, pursuing the advantage, drove them out of the field

^h Hirtius, *ibid.* Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 14, c. 14, 15. Dion Cassius, *ib.*

ⁱ The Nile, a little below Memphis, parting into two branches, whereof one runs to Pelusium, now Damietta, and the other to Canopus, now Rosetta; these two branches on each side, with the shore of the Mediterranean at the bottom, make the form of the Greek capital letter Delta; hence all that part of Egypt included within these two branches was called Delta.

with a great slaughter, and, having taken their camp, forced those that escaped to repass the Nile.

Hereon Ptolemy^k marched with his whole army for the oppressing of them, and Cæsar did the same for their support, and, on his joining An. 47. Hyrcanus II. 17. them, soon brought the matter to a decisive battle; in which Cæsar having gotten an absolute victory, Ptolemy, on his endeavouring to escape in a boat on the Nile, was sunk with it, and drowned in that river. Hereon Alexandria and all Egypt submitted to the conqueror. Cæsar, returning from this victory, entered Alexandria about the middle of our January, and no one there any more opposing him, he settled the kingdom under Cleopatra and the surviving Ptolemy, her younger brother, as king and queen; which was in effect to put the whole into her hands, this Ptolemy being then no more than eleven years old. It was for the sake of this lewd woman, and the lascivious conversation he had with her, that Cæsar made this dangerous and infamous war; and therefore, having fully mastered it by this victory, he made it turn the most he could to her advantage; and^l his wanton dalliances with her detained him longer in Egypt than his affairs could well admit. For although he had, in January, settled all matters in that country, yet it was not till the latter end of April following that he departed thence. For Appian tells us,^m he had been nine months in Egypt at this time, and he came not thither till towards the end of July in the preceding year. Havingⁿ taken Arsinoe prisoner in this war, he carried her to Rome with him, and caused her to be there led in bonds before him in his triumph; but, after that show was over, heⁿ dismissed her from her imprisonment. But, being^o banished by him from Egypt, that she might not create new troubles in that kingdom, to the disturbance of that settlement of affairs which he had

^k Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino. Dion Cassius, lib. 42. Plutarch. in Cæsare.

^l Sueton. in Julio Cæsare, c. 52. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2, p. 434. Dion Cassius, lib. 42, p. 206.

^m De Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2, p. 484.

ⁿ Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 223.

^o Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino.

there made, she took up her residence in the province of the Proper Asia; for there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and,^p at the request of Cleopatra, caused her to be put to death. Before Cæsar departed from Alexandria,^q in acknowledgment of the assistance he had from the Jews, he confirmed all their privileges in that city, and ordered a pillar to be there erected, whereon, by his command, all these privileges were engraven, and also his decree confirming the same.

That which hastened Cæsar out of Egypt at this time, was the war of Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, son of Mithridates, late king of Pontus. For,^r finding the Romans deeply engaged in the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, he took the advantage hereof to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in Asia. And therefore, leaving Asander, his lieutenant, in Bosphorus, he passed the Euxine sea, and took possession of Cholcis and the Lesser Armenia, and several places in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia. After the battle of Pharsalia,^s Cæsar had sent Domitius Calvinus with part of his army against him, committing to his government all the provinces of Lesser Asia. But Domitius^t having the misfortune to be vanquished in this war, Pharnaces thereon made himself master of all the remaining parts of Pontus and Cappadocia; and, being puffed up with this success, carried it with great pride and cruelty towards all in the Roman interest; and, having seized all Bithynia, was preparing to pass from thence into the province of Proper Asia. An account of all this coming to Cæsar in Egypt,^u it roused him up from that lethargy which Cleopatra's charms had bewitched him into, and put him again upon action: whereon, leaving part of his forces in Egypt for the protection of Cleopatra,^x he passed, about the end of April, with

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 4. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 17, & contra Apionem, lib. 2.

^r Plutarch. in Cæsare. Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino. Dion Cassius, lib. 42. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2, et in Mithridaticis.

^s Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino. Dion Cassius, lib. 42.

^t Hirtius et Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2.

^u Hirtius & Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Plutarch. in Cæsare.

^x Hirtius, Plutarch. & Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. Sueton. in Julio Cæsare, c. 35. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 16.

the rest into Syria. While he was in that country, y Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, late king of the Jews, came to him, and, much lamenting his father's and brother's death (the former of which had been poisoned, and the other beheaded, for being adherents to his cause,) prayed him to take compassion of him, and restore him to his father's principality; and, at the same time, made heavy complaints of Antipater and Hyrcanus, and of the wrongs which he said he had suffered from them. But Antipater being then attending upon Cæsar, defended his own and Hyrcanus' cause so well against him, that Cæsar, rejecting the accusations of Antigonus, as of a turbulent and seditious person, decreed,^z that Hyrcanus should hold the office of high priest at Jerusalem, and the principality of Judea with it to him, and those of his family after him, in perpetuity of possession, and appointed Antipater to be procurator of Judea under him, and ordered this decree to be engraven in tables of brass in Greek and Latin, and to be hung up in the capitol at Rome, and in the temples of Tyre, Sidon, and Askalon, in Phœnicia; by virtue of which decree, Hyrcanus was again re-established in the sovereignty of Judea, the aristocracy of Gabinius abolished, and the government again restored to the same state in which it had been under him, and the great sanhedrim, before Gabinius made that alteration in it which hath been abovementioned. All this was brought about by Antipater. For he was a person of that wisdom and foresight, and thereby had acquired such an interest in Judea, Arabia, Syria, and all Palestine, that he made himself necessary to all Roman governours that came into those parts, and to none was he more so than unto Cæsar, who owed his deliverance at Alexandria, and the success with which he concluded that war, wholly to him. For, without him, Mithridates could never have raised that army for his assistance, by the help of which he conquered. And he was by this time grown strong in his family, as well as in his interest and power. For^a he had by his wife

y Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 15; et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 8.

z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 17; lib. 20, c. 3; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 7, 8.

a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 12.

Cyprus four sons now grown up to maturity of age, and of great reputation for valour and wisdom; the eldest was Phasaelus, the second Herod, the third Joseph, and the youngest Pheroras; and he had also by the same wife, a daughter called Salome, who was the Erinnys of her family, continually creating fueds and divisions in it by her intrigues, whereby she very often perplexed her brother Herod's affairs, and yet maintained an interest with him to his last. Her character will be best understood by her actions, which will be hereafter related.

Cæsar, after some stay in Syria,^b made Sextus Cæsar, his kinsman, president of that province, and then ^c hastened northward against Pharnaces. On his arrival where the enemy was, he, without giving any respite either to himself or them,^d immediately fell on and gained an absolute victory over them; an account whereof he wrote to a friend of his in these three words,^d *veni, vidi, vici*, that is, *I came, I saw, I overcame*; which short expression of his success very aptly setting forth the speed whereby he obtained it, he affected it so much, that afterwards, when he triumphed for this victory,^e he caused these three words to be written on a table, and carried aloft before him in that pompous show. This victory being gained^f near the place where Triarius was vanquished by Mithridates, it thereby repaired the honour of the Roman militia which was lost by that defeat. After this, all being again recovered^g that Pharnaces had possessed himself of in this war, he fled to Sinope with one thousand horsemen,^h which were the whole remainder of his vanquished army, and, having slain the horses, he put the men on board his ships in that port, and sailed with them back to Bosphorus. But Asander,ⁱ whom he left his lieutenant in that country, having by this time

^b Dion Cassius, lib. 47, p. 342. Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 3, 4.

^c Hirtius de Bello Alexand. Plutarch. in Cesare. Dion Cassius, lib. 42.

^d Appian. lib. 2, p. 485. Plutarch. in Cesare.

^e Sueton. in Julio Cesare, c. 37.

^f Dion Cassius, lib. 43, p. 207. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^g Hirtius, ibid. Dion Cassius, lib. 42. Plutarch. in Cesare.

^h Appian. in Mithridaticis, p. 254.

ⁱ Dion Cassius, lib. 42.

set up for himself, he was no sooner landed,^k but the usurper got him into his power, and, having put him to death, reigned in his stead. Hereon Cæsar gave Mithridates,^l the Pergamenian, that kingdom in reward for the service he did him in Egypt, and at the same time made him one of the tetrarchs of Galatia. The latter^m he had a title to in the right of his mother, who was descended from one of the former tetrarchs, and the former he might have laid claim to in the right of his father: for he wasⁿ supposed to have been the son of Mithridates, his mother having been one of his concubines, after the death of Menodotus of Pergamus, her husband, and therefore he was bred up by that prince, and called by his name. But Cæsar, in making him king of Bosphorus, gave him only an empty title. For the possession being in Asander, he was to recover it by war; in the prosecution of which, instead of gaining the kingdom, he lost his life,^o being vanquished and slain in battle by Asander; who, after this, held the kingdom of Bosphorus without any further opposition, the Romans, by reason of their intestine broils, that still continued among them, not being at leisure to give him any disturbance. Cæsar, having settled all matters in Pontus, Cappadocia, and the other parts of Lesser Asia,^p returned through Greece to Rome, and was there again chosen dictator for the ensuing year.

In the interim Antipater,^q having accompanied Cæsar through all Syria to the utmost confines of the province, there took his leave of him, and returned again into Judea. And soon after, going through that country in a general progress over it, he settled the civil government under Hyrcanus in all parts of it, according to Cæsar's decree, in the same manner as it had been before Gabinius' alteration; and appointed Phasaëlus,^r his eldest son, to be governour of Jerusalem,

^k Dion Cassius & Appian. *ibid.*

^l Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino. Appian. in *Mithridaticis*, p. 254. Strabo, lib. 13, p. 625.

^m Strabo, *ibid.*

ⁿ Hirtius, *ibid.*

^o Strabo, lib. 13, p. 625.

^p Plutarch. in *Cæsare*. Dion Cassius, lib. 42.

^q Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 14, c. 16; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 8.

^r Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 14, c. 17.

and Herod, his second son, to be governour of Galilee, he being then twenty-five years old. The printed books of Josephus have it, that Herod was at this time only fifteen years old; but that is an age which doth not suit with such a charge, or the actions which he immediately performed in it, and, besides, it doth not accord with what Josephus hath elsewhere written; for, speaking of the last sickness of which Herod died,^s about forty-four years after this time, he tells us, that he fell into it about the seventieth year of his age; but, if he were now but fifteen, he could not have exceeded the sixtieth year of his age when that sickness first seized him. It is most likely, some transcriber by mistake wrote (ιε) the numerical Greek letters for fifteen, instead of (κς) the numerical letters for twenty-five, and from that copy the mistake hath been transmitted into our printed books. Herod being of a very active genius, and in the vigour of his youth, was no sooner in his government, but,^t to signalize himself therein, he fell upon a knot of thieves, who much infested Galilee and the neighbouring parts of Cœle-Syria, and, having taken Hezekiah, their ringleader, with several of his associates, he put them all to death; whereby he gained great reputation among all of those parts, and made his name known with honour to Sextus Cæsar, the president of the province. But those who envied the prosperity of Antipater, and the growth and greatness of his power, laid hold of this handle to accuse Herod to Hyrcanus for putting these men to death without legal trial, and prevailed with him so far as to obtain a citation from him to summon Herod to answer for it before the sanhedrim; where having made his appearance clothed in purple, and surrounded with his guards, this so overawed the sanhedrim, that they sat all silent, not one of them opening his mouth to say a word against the criminal, excepting only Sameas, who, being the only man among them of that integrity and courage as not to be frighted out of his duty, on the silence of all the rest, rose up, and, first accusing Herod of audaciousness in thus appear-

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 8.

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 17, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 8.

ing in a habit not proper for a criminal, and of violence in bringing such an armed force with him into the court, as if he intended to make the public administration of justice more dangerous to the judges than to the malefactor, in the next place turned his accusation upon Hyrcanus and the court, and, upbraiding them of their cowardice in permitting this, he prophetically told them, that, though they were now for sparing Herod, the time should be when he would not spare them, but that the just judgment of God should by his hands be executed upon them for it. And so afterwards it accordingly happened; for, when Herod came to be king of Judea, he did put every one of them to death, (excepting this Sameas and Pollio his master,) and also Hyrcanus himself, as will be hereafter related. However, Hyrcanus did all he could to get Herod to be acquitted, being influenced hereto not only by his affection for the young man, but also by a menacing letter which he had received from Sextus Cæsar in his behalf. But the major part of the court, now roused by Sameas' speech, being inclined to condemn him, he could not gain him an acquittal; and therefore, to save him from a sentence of condemnation, he adjourned the court to the next day, and in the interim advised Herod to be gone; who, accordingly, in the night, withdrawing from Jerusalem, went to Damascus, and there putting himself under the protection of Sextus Cæsar, whom he found in that place, he defied the sanhedrim, and did from thence let them know, that he would appear no more before them; which they resented with great indignation, but could now no otherwise express it, than by venting their complaint against Hyrcanus for permitting it to be thus done.

On Herod's coming to Sextus Cæsar, ^u he so far ingratiated himself with him, that, for a sum of money with which he presented him, he ob-

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tained of him the government of Coele-Syria. Whereon he got together another army, and marched with it into Judea to be revenged on Hyrcanus, and

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 17; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 8.

the sanhedrim; intending no less than to depose Hyrcanus, and cut off the whole sanhedrim, because of the indignity they made him undergo, by their late process against him. But Antipater and Phasaël interposing, made him desist from this attempt.

Scipio and Cato^x heading the remains of Pompey's faction in Africa, and having, with the assistance of Juba, king of Mauritania, made themselves masters of all that province, and gotten forces together sufficient to enlarge themselves further, Cæsar, in the latter part of the former year, had passed over thither to suppress them; and having there rendezvoused all his forces together about the middle of January this year, immediately marched against the enemy; and, in the beginning of the February following, coming to a battle with them, gave them a total overthrow; whereon Cato slew himself at Utica, and Scipio, Juba, Petreus, and the other chiefs, who commanded in this war, perished in their flight; and Cæsar, having settled the province, returned again to Rome, carrying with him Juba the son of king Juba, then a lad,^y whom he caused to be led before him in his triumph, instead of his father. However, from this captivity, he gained the benefit of having a Roman education,^z whereby he became one of the learnedest men of the age in which he lived; in regard whereto, Augustus afterwards made him king of Getulia in Africa, and gave him in marriage Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of queen Cleopatra by Mark Antony. The eminentest of his works was his Roman History, which he wrote in Greek, and is quoted often and with great approbation by the ancients, but is now wholly lost, as are also all his other works. One of them, which was of the affairs of Syria, and collected mostly from the writings of Berosus, would have been of great use to us in the writing of this history, had it been still extant. But, before Cæsar left Africa,^a he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage; and the same year was Corinth

^x Hirtius de Bello Africano. Plutarch. in Cæsare. Dion Cassius, lib. 43.

^y Plutarch. in Cæsare.

^z Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 2, c. 4.

^a Appian. de Bellis Punicis, in fine.

also rebuilt by the like order: so that as these two famous cities were destroyed in the same year, they were now both of them just one hundred years after again rebuilt in the same year: and two years after Roman colonies^b were sent into each of them, for the replenishing of them with new inhabitants. From this colony at Corinth were descended those Corinthians to whom St. Paul wrote his two epistles.

At this time Cæcilius Bassus^c created great disorders in Syria. He was a Roman of the equestrian order,^c and had fought on the side of Pompey in the battle of Pharsalia; after that overthrow he fled to Tyre, and there lying hid under the disguise of a merchant, associated several to him that had been favourers of Pompey's cause, and underhand engaged in his party many of the Roman soldiers that came thither to garrison the city. Whereon being at length taken notice of by Sextus Cæsar for these doings, and called before him to answer for them, he pretended to be going to the assistance of Mithridates of Pergamus for the recovery of the kingdom of Bosphorus given him by Cæsar, and that all his preparations were in order thereto; and having persuaded Sextus to believe him, he was dismissed as innocent; whereby having gained further opportunity for the carrying on of his plot, as soon as he had gotten into it a number of conspirators sufficient for the putting of it into execution, he seized Tyre, and giving out that Cæsar was vanquished and beaten, he was forced to retreat back to Tyre, and there lie by for some time to be cured of his wounds received in the conflict: whereby being discouraged from attempting any thing further by open force against Sextus, he at length, by treachery and underhand dealing, worked his destruction. For this Sextus Cæsar being a young man much given to voluptuousness, and making his army to attend him in all places where he went for his pleasure, this much disgusted his soldiers; which Bassus having full notice

^b Dion Cassius, lib. 43. Strabo, lib. 17, p. 833. Pausanias in Eliacis, in initio et in Corinthiacis, in initio. Solinus, c. 27.

^c Dion Cassius, lib. 47. Libo apud Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 6, p. 576. Epitome Livii, 114. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 7; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 8.

of, instigated them by his emissaries to kill him; which they having accordingly effected, they all thereon declared for Bassus, and joined themselves to him, excepting only some few, who, detesting this assassination, separated from the rest, and retired into Cilicia. Whereon Bassus seized Apamea, fortified that place, and made it the seat of his residence, and there took on him the government of the whole province. But Antistius Vetus^d having put himself at the head of those who had thus retreated into Cilicia, and drawn to him several others of the Cæsarean party in that country, marched back with them into Syria: and there the sons of Antipater having joined him with auxiliaries from Judea sent him by their father, and others doing the same from other parts, some to revenge the murder of Sextus, out of the abhorrence they had of that fact, and others to court the favour of the dictator, he became enabled thereby to drive Bassus out of the field; and having cooped him up in Apamea, there besieged him with a close siege. But Bassus being a valiant man and skilful soldier, defended himself so well, that Antistius not being able to get any advantage against him, was forced towards the end of the year to retreat, and respite all hostilities for a while, till better furnished with new preparations, and more forces for the war.

Cæsar being returned from his African expedition, undertook the reformation of the Roman calendar, and happily effected it,^e by forming the Julian year, which the world hath had the benefit of ever since. This belonged to him to do^f as high priest of Rome, which was an office he had long been in before he was either dictator or consul. And there was now very great need for this to be done; for at this time, by

^d Dion Cassius & Josephus, *ibid.*

^e Plutarch. in Cæsare. Dion Cassius, lib. 43, p. 227. Sueton. in Julio Cæsare, c. 40. Plin. lib. 18, c. 25. Censorinus de die Natali, c. 8. Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. 1, c. 14. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 26, c. 1. Videas etiam Scaligerum, Petavium, Calvisium, aliosque chronologos et astronomos, de hac re.

^f For the intercalating of the year, and the whole ordering of that matter, belonged to the college of the pontifices, of which Cæsar, as pontifex maximus, was the head.

reason of the faults of the former calendar, the beginning of January was carried back to the time of our present Michaelmas, and all their solemn times and festivals were put out of their due order by this means. The former year, which the Romans went by till this time, consisted of twelve lunar months; but twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, it was the office of the high priest, with the college of the pontifices, to add such intercalations as should make all even: this they usually did by casting in another month every second year, which did alternatively consist of twenty-two days one time, and twenty-three another: this short month was called Merkidinus, and the place in the Roman calendar where it was intercalated was between the 23d and the 24th of February. But the pontifices, who had the authority of making these intercalations, executing it very arbitrarily, sometimes irregularly intercalating the month Merkidinus where they ought not, and sometimes as irregularly omitting to intercalate it where they ought, according as they had a mind to prolong or abbreviate the time of the annual magistrates then in office, hereby it came to pass that great disorders got into the political, as well as into the astronomical part of the year; and therefore, for the bringing of a remedy to both, Cæsar found it necessary to make this reformation; which effectually prevented all such disorders for the future. For hereby he settled the year to a fixed and stated form, always to go invariably the same, without leaving it to any man's arbitrary power to disturb it; which he accomplished by these following methods. 1st. He abolished the lunar year, consisting of twelve lunar months, or three hundred and fifty-five days, which the Romans had hitherto gone by; and, instead thereof, introduced the use of the solar year, consisting of the time in which the sun goes through the Zodiac, and comes about again to the same point from which it did set out. 2dly. Having, according to the best observations of those times, stated this revolution to be made in three hundred sixty-five days and six hours, of these he made this solar year to consist. 3dly. These three

hundred and sixty-five days he distributed into twelve political or artificial months, instead of the lunar and natural months before in use, which consisted some of thirty-one days, and some of thirty, and one, that is, February, of twenty-eight days. 4thly. The six hours over and above, in four years, making a day, he added it in the beginning of every fifth year, making that year thereby to consist of three hundred and sixty-six days: and this is that which we call the leap-year. 5thly. This day he added between the 23d and 24th day of February in the same place in the Roman calendar, where formerly their intercalated month Merkidinus was inserted in their old form; and this addition being made, by putting the latter of those days twice in the calendar, and that day being there called *Sextus Calendarum*,^g the putting of this *sextus dies bis*, i. e. twice, is the reason why this leap-year is called *annus bissextilis* in Latin, and from hence by us the bissextile. But, in our almanacks, instead of putting this 24th day of February twice in the said leap-years, we number on the days as before, so as, in every such leap-year, to make that month consist of twenty-nine days. 6thly. He began this year at the kalends^h or first day of January, on which all the annual magistrates of the Romans first entered on their offices. 7thly. This first of January he then fixed to the winter solstice,ⁱ though now it hath overrun that time several days, by reason that the said Julian solar year, is eleven minutes longer than the natural solar year, for the natural solar year according to the best and accuratest observations, consists of no more than three hundred sixty-five days, five hours, and forty-nine minutes; but the Julian, containing three hundred sixty-five days and six hours,

^g It is most commonly called *Sextus Calendas*, i. e. *Sextus dies ante Calendas*.

^h Formerly the Roman year consisted of ten months, and began from the first of March; hence July was called *Quintilis*, and August *Sextilis*, because they were the fifth and sixth months in that old Roman year; and for the same reason the months of September, October, November, and December, have their present names; that is because they were the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th months in that old Roman year. Numa afterwards made their year to consist of twelve months, by adding January and February; but this made no alteration in the names of the other months.

ⁱ Censorinus.

consists of eleven minutes more, which in one hundred thirty years making a day, this hath occasioned, that, every one hundred thirty years, the first of January in the Julian calendar overruns that time of the natural year, where it was first placed one whole day, which is the only fault that is to be found in this form. Gregory XIII. pope of Rome,^k in the year 1582, endeavoured to correct this fault, by proposing a new form, which, from his name, is called the Gregorian, wherein he ordained, that, in every four centuries, three leap-years should be omitted, that is, one in the beginning of each of the three first of them, without making any alteration in the fourth. This indeed brings the matter nearer to the truth, but doth not fully reach it. And therefore it hath not met with such general approbation, but that still in all the dominions of the king of Great Britain, as well as in some other places, the Julian form is still retained as the better of the two. The reckoning by this last is called the Old Style, and the reckoning by the other, the New. 8thly. Cæsar, to bring this form into practice, besides the month Merkidinus, which was intercalated in February, added to this present year, two other months more, which he inserted between the months of November and December; so that thereby he made that year to consist of four hundred and forty-five days, that is, three hundred fifty-five days for the ordinary Roman year, twenty-three for the intercalated month Merkidinus, and sixty-seven days for the other months added between November and December. All these added together, made this year the longest the Romans ever had; which putting many of their affairs out of their usual order, hence it was called by them the year of confusion. In the settling of this matter, Cæsar made use of the assistance of Sosigenes, an astronomer of Alexandria, for the astronomical calculation, and that of Flavius, a scribe, for the forming and digesting of it into a calendar according to the Roman manner, that is, in distributing the days of each month into their kalends,

^k Spondani Annales sub anno 1582, sect. 14, 15, &c. Videas etiam Petavium, Calvisium, Beverigium, Straucium, aliosque chronologos.

ides, and nones, and affixing the festivals, and other solemn times, to the days in which they were to be observed. But Cæsar being slain soon after this, the pontifices, who succeeded in the care of this matter, not well understanding it,¹ instead of making the intercalation of the leap-year, after every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, did it after the third in the beginning of the fourth, and so it went on for thirty-six years following; by which means, twelve years having been intercalated or made leap-years instead of nine, the error was then perceived: whereon Augustus Cæsar, then Roman emperour, for the bringing of this again to rights, ordered, that, for the twelve years next ensuing, no leap-year should be at all made, whereby the three supernumerary days, which were erroneously cast in, being again dropped, this form hath ever since gone without any alteration, till that made by pope Gregory XIII. which I have mentioned.

In the kalends of January, Cæsar^m entered his fourth consulship, and^m from thence began the first Julian year, according to the order of reformation which he made the year preceding. After this,ⁿ Cæsar passing into Spain, there vanquished, in the battle of Munda, the last remainders of Pompey's party, slaying Cneius, the eldest of his sons, and Labienus and Attius Varus the chief supporters of that interest; whereby, having quieted that province, he returned to Rome in the October following with full victory; and therefore looking on the civil war as now fully concluded,^o for the composing of all matters, and the reconciling to him, as far as in him lay, the minds of all that had been against him,^o he issued out an act of oblivion or general pardon, granting impunity and thorough indemnity to all that had acted against him in the late war. Hereon he was made perpetual dictator,^p and had many other

¹ Suetonius in Augusto, c. 81. Plin. lib. 18, c. 25. Solinus, c. 1. Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1, c. 14. Videas etiam Salmasii Exercitationes in Solinum, c. 1. m Censorinus de Die Natali, c. 8.

ⁿ Plutarch. in Cæsare. Dion Cassius, lib. 43. Hirtius de Bello Hispaniensi. Lucan. &c.

^o Velleius Paterculus. lib. 2, c. 56.

^p Epitomæ Livii, lib. 116. Plutarch. in Cæsare.

honours and powers granted to him,^q whereby he had the whole authority of the Roman state put into his hands: and so was made, though not in name, yet truly and in effect, sovereign prince of their whole empire.

In the interim the war in Syria went on;^r for Statius Murcus, who was sent by Cæsar to succeed Sextus in the presidency of Syria, being there arrived, joined Antistius with three legions, which he brought with him, and thereon they having again shut up Bassus in Apamea, renewed the siege of that place. While this siege was continued,^s both sides solicited the aid of the neighbouring princes and cities. Alcaudonius, an Arab king, being on this occasion sent to by both sides,^t came with all his forces, and planting himself between Apamea and the camp of the Cæsareans that covered the siege, offered himself by way of auction to that side which would give most for him, and Bassus, having bidden highest, accordingly had him; and Pacorus^u with his Parthians, coming also to his assistance about the same time, these two reinforcements added such strength to him, that he forced the Cæsareans again to raise the siege.

Cæsar, on the first day of the next year, entered on his fifth and last consulship; and, having then received a request from Hyrcanus^x to per-
An. 44. Hyrcanus II. 20.
 mit him again to repair the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be pulled down, he readily granted it, in consideration of the service he had done him both in Egypt and Syria: and a decree was accordingly passed at Rome for this purpose; which being carried to Jerusalem, Antipater, by virtue thereof, immediately set about the work, whereby that city was again fortified as in former times. This Josephus tells us, was done in Cæsar's fifth consulship; and about the same time was it also decreed by

q Plutarch. *ibid.* et Dion Cassius, lib. 43.

r Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 14, c. 17, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 8. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 3, 4. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 69.

s Strabo, lib. 16, p. 752.

t Dion Cassius, lib. 40. Strabo, *ibid.*

u Dion Cassius, lib. 47. Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 14, ep. 9.

x Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 14, c. 17.

the senate,^y that, in honour of him, the fifth month, hitherto called Quintilis, should thenceforth be called Julius, from his name, which is our English July.

Cæsar,^z had for his colleague, in this year's consulship, M. Antony; but, intending a war against the Parthians, for the revenging of the death of Crassus, and the Romans slain with him at the battle of Carrhæ, he resigned his own consulship, and substituted^a in his stead Publius Cornelius Dolabella, a young man of twenty-five years of age,^b who had married Tullia the daughter of Cicero. But when all things were ready for this expedition, on the ides of March, i. e. the 15th of that month, four days before he intended to set out on it, he was murdered in the senate-house, by a conspiracy of senators.^c This was a most base and villainous act; and was the more so, in that the prime authors of it, Marcus Brutus, Decimus Brutus, Cassius, and Trebonius, and some others of them, were such as Cæsar had in the highest manner obliged; yet it was executed under the notion of an high heroic virtue, in thus freeing their country from one whom they called a tyrant; and there are not wanting, such as are ready, even in our days, to applaud the act. But divine justice declared itself otherwise in this matter: for it pursued every one of them^d that were concerned herein with such a just and remarkable revenge, that they were every man of them cut off in a short time after, in a violent manner, either by their own or other men's hands. Cæsar was a very extraordinary person,^e of great parts, polite literature, and thorough abilities in all the arts of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the use and pursuit of both. However, many of his

y Dion Cassius, lib. 44. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. Macrob. Saturnal, lib. 1, c. 12. Censorinus de Die Natali, c. 9.

z Plutarch. in Cæsare, Bruto, Cicerone, et Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 43. Cicero in Philippicis.

a Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 58. Dion Cassius, lib. 42, p. 200, et lib. 43, in fine.

b Plutarch. in Cicerone.

c Plutarch. in Cæsare. Antonio, Bruto, et Cicerone. Dion Cassius, lib. 44. Sueton. in Julio Cæsare, cap. 80, 81, &c. Epit. Livii, lib. 116. L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 2. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 2.

d Plutarch. in Cæsare.

e Plinius, lib. 7, c. 25. Plutarchus in Cæsare.

enterprises being entered upon with great rashness, this abundantly proves, that he owed the success which he had in them only to an over-ruling power of Providence on his side ; which having set him up as a fit instrument for the work which he brought to pass, carried him through all dangers and hazards, to the full accomplishing of it ; and after that, when there was no more for him to do, cast him off to perish like a rod, which is thrown into the fire when no more to be used. The work was God's ; but it being malice and ambition that excited him to be the instrument in the execution of it, he justly had for the reward thereof that destruction by which he fell. Having found, in two or three of his attempts, the hand of Providence with him, he afterward, presuming hereon, often ventured on very hazardous undertakings, without having any other prospect of succeeding in them, than from the confidence which he had in that which he called his good fortune. And he never failed in any of them ; for he fought fifty battles^f without missing of success in any of them, unless at Pharus, where he swam for his life, and once at Dyrrachium. And, in these battles, he is said to have slain one million one hundred and ninety-two thousand men ;^g which sufficiently proves him to have been a terrible scourge in the hand of God for the punishment of the wickedness of that age in which he lived : and consequently he is to be reputed the greatest pest and plague that mankind then had therein. But, notwithstanding this, his actions have with many acquired great glory to his name ; whereas true glory is due only to those who benefit, not to those who destroy mankind.

The murder of Cæsar^g was followed with great confusions and disturbances all over the Roman empire. Antony being consul,^h headed the Cæsarean party, and,^h by an oration made at Cæsar's funeral, so far excited the people against the murderers, that they were all forced to leave Rome ; and Antony

^f Plin. et Plutarch. *ibid.*

^g Plutarch. in Antonio, Bruto, et Cicerone. Dion Cassius, lib. 44, 45.

^h Plutarch. in Cæsare. Dion Cassius, lib. 45. Suetonius in Julio Cæsare, c. 83, 84, &c.

governed all there, till Octavius arrived. This Octaviusⁱ was the son of Caius Octavius, by Attia, the daughter of Julia, sister of Julius Cæsar; and therefore, he being his nephew, and nearest male relation,^k he adopted him for his son, and, by his will,^k made him heir to three quarters of his estate, giving the other quarter to two others of his relations. Intending to carry him with him to the Parthian war,^l he had sent him before to Apollonia, on the other side the Adriatic, to head his army, which he had there provided for that expedition, till he himself should arrive to march forward with them for the prosecuting of it. And there he had been six months,^m when his uncle was murdered. On his hearing of it,ⁿ he immediately passed over to Brundisium in Italy, and, as soon as he landed there,ⁿ declaring himself the adopted son and heir of Julius Cæsar, instead of the name of Caius Octavius, which he had hitherto gone by, he called himself Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus; and by this name was he afterwards known, till that of Augustus, which was given him after his victory at Actium, swallowed up all the rest. The name of Cæsar, immediately on his assuming of it, drew to him the soldiery, and most of the others that had been of his uncle's party; and therefore, as he passed from thence to Rome, he was accompanied with a very numerous attendance, and, all the way as he went, others continually flocked in to them to shew their respects to him. He came to Naples^o on the first of May; from thence approaching Rome,^p he was met and conducted thither by vast numbers of the Roman people. The next morning,^q getting about him a great many of his friends, he presented himself before the tribunal of Caius Antonius, the brother of Marcus,

i Suetonius in Augusto. Dion Cassius, lib. 45, in initio.

* Suetonius in Julio Cæsare, c. 83. Plutarchus in Cicerone.

l Ibid. in Antonio et Bruto. Sueton. in Augusto, c. 8. Epitome Livii, lib. 17.

m Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 3, p. 531.

n Dion Cassius, lib. 45. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 3, p. 531. Epit. Livii, lib. 117. Julius Obsequens de Prodigiiis.

o Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 14, ep. 10.

p Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 3, p. 531. Velleius Patercul. lib. 2, c. 59.

q Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 3, p. 534.

then prætor of the city, and there declared before him, according to the Roman law and usage in this case, his acceptance of his uncle's adoption, and had it registered among the public acts of the city. Hereon taking upon him the executing of his uncle's will, by which he was made his heir,^r a controversy arose between him and Antony, about some part of the deceased's estate, which the latter thought to have swallowed; but their main contest was, which of them should succeed Cæsar in his power and interest; concerning which, each having put himself upon the utmost struggle, the adopted son carried it against the other, both in the favour of the people, and the number of the soldiery that resorted to him. Whereon Antony^s was forced to quit Rome, and leave Octavianus in the sole mastery there, both of the senate and people; which management, in thus overwitting one who had been so long experienced in all the affairs both of peace and war, was a great instance of wisdom in so young a man, he being then no more than eighteen years old, and going of the nineteenth. For^t he was born on the ninth of the kalends of October, that is, September 23d, in the year before Christ 63, and therefore did not complete the nineteenth year of his age till the 23d of September in this year. Antony^u finding he could not, with the utmost of his endeavours, make himself strong enough to overpower Octavianus, either in Rome or Italy, marched with all the forces he could get together into Gallia Cisalpina, with design to dispossess Decimus Brutus of that province, who was lately vested in it by a decree of the senate, and seize it to himself. This produced the siege and battle of Mutina, now called Modena, of which an account will be given among the actions of the next year.

In the interim,^x Q. Martius Crispus coming out of Bithynia, with three legions of soldiers, to the assist-

^r Plutarch. in Antonio et Cicerone. Dion Cassius, lib. 45. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus. Epit. Livii, lib. 117.

^s Plutarchus & Dion Cassius, *ibid*.

^t Suetonius in Augusto, c. 5. Aulus Gellius, lib. 15, c. 7. Dion Cassius, lib. 56, p. 590.

^u Plutarch. in Antonio et Cicerone. Cicero in Philippicis. Dion Cassius, lib. 45. I. Florus, lib. 4, c. 4. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 8.

^x Appian. *ibid*. Dion Cassius, lib. 47, p. 343.

ance of Murcus, the siege of Apamea was the third time renewed and carried on, till Cassius came, and did put an end to it. Cæsar,^y a little before his death, had appointed Cornificius to go into Syria, and take on him that government; but afterward, Dolabella, who succeeded Cæsar in his consulship, had it assigned^z to him by the senate, and Cornificius^a was sent into Africa. But Cassius,^b getting into Syria before Dolabella, seized that province by violence; for, finding that the Cæsareans prevailed in Italy, he and Brutus left that country, and retired to Athens; where, resolving on a new war with the Cæsareans, in order to raise money and forces for it, Brutus seized Greece and Macedonia, and Cassius, Cilicia, Syria, and the East.

Hirtius and Pansa, being the consuls of the ensuing year,^c entered on their office on the first of January; and Mark Antony being declared by the senate a public enemy, because of the war which he had made upon Decimus Brutus, and his besieging of him in Mutina, both the consuls and Octavianus in commission with them, were sent to his relief for the raising of that siege, in the attempting whereof a great battle being fought, one of the consuls was slain, and the other mortally wounded in it: however, the victory being on their side, Octavianus, who survived, reaped the whole benefit of it; for hereby he got the whole army under his sole command, and so far distressed Antony,^d that he was forced, in a very broken and abject condition, to flee over the Alps into Gallia Transalpina. But being there received by the Roman army, which Lepidus commanded in that province, this brought Octavianus to

y Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 12, ep. 18, 19.

z Plutarch. in Cicerone. Dion Cassius, lib. 45, p. 277. Appian. lib. 3, p. 530, 531, 550.

a Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 4, p. 620. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 12, ep. 21.

b Plutarch. in Antonio et Bruto. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 18; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 9. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 3, 4. Dion Cassius, lib. 47, p. 339.

c L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 4. Dion Cassius, lib. 45. Plutarchus in Cicerone et Antonio. Cicero in Philippicis. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 3, p. 558, &c.

d Plutarch. in Antonio et Cicerone.

an agreement with him; by which^e a new triumvirate being erected, the three generals, that is, M. Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavianus, divided the Roman empire between them. Hence followed the proscription of many a noble Roman, among whom, by order of M. Antony, perished Cicero, prince of the Roman eloquence. That which influenced them most to the making of this agreement, were the preparations which M. Brutus and Cassius were making for a new war, which made it necessary for all the Cæsarean party to unite for their common defence; for Brutus having made himself master of Greece and Macedonia, and Cassius of Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine, they had each of them gotten together great armies in those countries; Brutus^f having mustered eight legions in Macedonia, and Cassius^g twelve in Syria; and therefore, the forces of both, when united, made an army of twenty legions.

Cassius, on his arrival in Syria,^h found Murcus and Martius Crispus at the siege of Apamea. On his coming thither, they both joined him with all their forces, and Bassus' soldiers compelled him to do the same; whereon the city being surrendered on terms, an end was put to this siege, and Cassius, by the addition of these three armies, made up his forces to the number of eight legions. Being thus strengthened, he soon brought all Syria to submit to him; and they did it the more willingly, becauseⁱ of the great reputation he had among them for his saving that country from the Parthians, after the overthrow of Crassus at Carrhæ. Murcus,ⁱ heartily embracing the same interest with Cassius, was continued by him in the government of Syria, and was also made the admiral of his fleet; but Crispus and Bassus, not caring to engage in this war, were permitted quietly to retire.

^e Ibid. Dion Cassius, lib. 46. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 4. Epit. Livii, lib. 120. L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 6.

^f Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 4, p. 632.

^g For he received three legions from Murcus, three from Crispus, two from Bassus, and four from Allienus.

^h Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 12, ep. 11, 12, ad eum a Casso missis. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 3, p. 576; lib. 4, p. 623. Dion Cassius, lib. 47. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 752, 753.

ⁱ Dion Cassius, lib. 47, p. 339, 343.

From Syria, Cassius^k into Phœnicia and Judea, and without any difficulty, secured to him the possession of both these countries. While he lay there,^l Allienus, one of Dolabella's lieutenants, was marching through Palestine with four legions, sent by Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, to the assistance of Dolabella: Cassius, hearing hereof, got them at an advantage, and, having surrounded them with double their number, forced them all to come over to him, and hereby made up the twelve legions of which his army consisted. For the maintaining of so numerous a body of men,^m he was forced to lay heavy contributions on the country; and Judea being for this purpose taxed at seven hundred talents, Antipater, whose wisdom was never wanting for the peace and welfare of that country, took speedy care for the answering of this sum, committing it to the charge of his two sons, Phasael and Herod, and of Malichus, and some others, forthwith to raise the sum, and assigning to each of them their proper districts for this end. Herod, being the first that brought in his quota, thereby very much recommended himself to the favour of Cassius. But Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, Thamna, and some other cities of Judea being found tardy herein, Cassius caused all the inhabitants to be sold by auction for the raising of the money; and Malichus had like to have been put to death by Cassius for his failure in this matter, but that Hyrcanus sent to Cassius one hundred talents out of his own coffers to redeem him from it. In the interim, Dolabella,ⁿ after a long stay in the Proper Asia, for the exacting of contributions in those parts, passed into Cilicia, there seized Tarsus, and ^o thence marched into Syria, and would have entered Antioch as governour of the province; but, being repulsed thence, he took possession of Laodicea, where the inhabitants voluntarily called him. Cassius and

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 18, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 9.

^l Cicero ad Familiares, lib. 12, ep. 11, 12. Appian. lib. 3, p. 576; lib. 4, p. 623, 624.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 18; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 9.

ⁿ Dion Cassius, lib. 47, p. 344.

^o Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Lentulus in Epist. apud Ciceronem ad Familiares, lib. 12, epist. 14, 15. Cassius, *ibid.* epist. 13.

Murcus, hearing of this, hastened thither to suppress him, leaving Herod^p in the government of Cœle-Syria. On their arrival at Laodicea, Cassius,^q with the army invested the place by land, and Murcus with the fleet by sea; whereby they so distressed Dola-bella, that at last having taken the place, they left him, and the chief heads of his party, no other way of escaping falling into their hands, but by putting an end to their lives,^r as some of them did by their own, and others by their servants hands. As to the rest of his followers, Cassius listed them among his legions, and so did put an end to this war.

While this was doing in Syria, Malichus was acting a very wicked and ungrateful part towards Antipater in Judea. He and Antipater^s had long been the chief supporters of Hyrcanus' interest in Judea against Aristobulus and his sons, and, next Antipater, he was of the greatest power and authority in that country under the government of Hyrcanus, and was a very crafty busy man; but, not being contented to be the second man next the prince,^t he would fain have been the first, and that especially since he was a natural Jew, and the other only an Idumean; and therefore, for the accomplishing of this design, he laid a plot against the life of Antipater, concluding, that, if he were removed, the prime administration of all affairs in Judea would of course fall into his hands. Antipater, having gotten some notice of his treacherous projections, made preparations against them. But Malichus, coming to him, did in so crafty a manner, with oaths and protestations, deny the matter, that he fully persuaded both Antipater and his sons into a belief of his innocency, and a reconciliation was made between them. And whereas Murcus, on his having received some account of this man's innovating and factious designs, intended to have put him to death for them, he owed it to the intercession of Antipater that

p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 18; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 9.

q Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 4.

r Appian. *ibid.* lib. 4, p. 625.

s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 10.

t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 18; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 9.

he was delivered from this danger. But, notwithstanding this obligation, his ambition still hurrying him on in his wicked designs,^u he took the opportunity of Antipater's dining one day with Hyrcanus, to bribe the butler to give him poison in his wine, of which he died; and Malichus, immediately thereon, with an armed force, seized the government of Jerusalem. However, he still endeavoured to persuade Phasaelus and Herod, that he was wholly innocent as to this matter. Herod, having great indignation against him for this villanous act, would immediately by open force have revenged it upon him. But Phasaelus being of opinion rather to execute their revenge by craft and stratagem, lest otherwise they should run the nation into a civil war, Herod submitted hereto: and therefore both of them, dissembling their resentments, carried themselves towards him as if they believed all he said. In the mean time Cassius,^x being informed by Herod of the manner of Antipater's death, gave him leave to revenge it on the murderer, and sent his orders to the commanders of his forces at Tyre to be assisting to him herein. On Cassius' taking Laodicea, all the princes and chief lords of Syria and Palestine hastened thither with their congratulations and presents, and Hyrcanus, with Malichus and Herod, being upon the road for the same purpose, on their drawing near to Tyre, where they were to lodge that night, Herod invited all the company to sup with him, and sending his servants before, under pretence of providing the supper, by them communicated Cassius' orders to the commanders of the Roman garrison in that city; and accordingly a party of armed men being sent out by them, fell on Malichus as he approached that place, and slew him. Had he come safe to Tyre, his design was by stealth to have gotten away his son, who was there an hostage, and then to have returned into Judea, and there excited the Jews to a revolt, and, while the Romans were embroiled in their wars among themselves, to have seized

^u Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 19; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 9.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 20; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 9.

the country, and make himself king. But Herod's plot against him, being the better laid of the two, took place for the defeating of all that he had thus projected. And thus it often happens, that, when crafty men lay designs for wicked ends, they meet with others as crafty and wicked as themselves to turn the plot on their own heads.

Cassius having several times sent to Cleopatra ^y queen of Egypt for her assistance, and being as often denied, and hearing also, that she ^{An. 42. Hyrcanus II. 22.} was sending, on the other side, ships to the

aid of the triumvirs, resolved to make war upon her. Cæsar had made her queen after the Alexandrian war, and, for form's sake, joined her brother, a lad of eleven years old, in copartnership with her; but the whole power, by reason of this minority of the young prince, was in her; and so it continued, till the last preceding year; but then the young king being grown up to be fifteen years old, and thereby become capable of sharing the royal authority, as well as the name, ^z she made him away by poison, and at this time reigned alone in Egypt; and, since she had received her crown by the favour of Cæsar, it was a generous gratitude in her not to send any aid to his murderer; and hereby she drew the anger of Cassius upon her. ^a But, as he was on his way to invade her, ^b he was called back by Brutus, who, by letters after letters, pressed him to come and join him against the triumvirs. For they had now gotten together an army of forty legions, ^c and had passed eight of them over the Adriatic, and were following with the rest to fall upon him. Hereon Cassius, ^c leaving a nephew of his with one legion to govern Syria in his absence, marched with all the rest towards Brutus, and joined him near Smyrna ^d in the Proper Asia; where finding themselves masters of all from Macedonia to the Euphrates,

^y Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 4, p. 624; lib. 5, p. 675.

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 4. Porphy. in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri.

^a Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 4, p. 624; lib. 5, p. 678.

^b Plutarch. in Bruto. Appian. ibid.

^c Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 4, p. 626.

^d Plutarch. in Bruto. Dion Cassius, lib. 47, p. 345, 346.

excepting only the Lycians and the Rhodians,^e they thought it not convenient to leave two such potent maritime powers unsubdued behind them. And therefore, before they passed any further westward,^e Brutus marched against the Lycians, and Cassius sailed with the fleet against the Rhodians, and, after they had brought both these people under them,^f they again joined at Sardis, and from thence passed over the Hellespont^g with an army of near one hundred thousand men,^h to fight Octavianus and Antony, who were come with much more numerous forces into Macedonia against them.ⁱ At Philippi,^k a city in that country (the same to the inhabitants whereof St. Paul afterwards wrote one of his epistles,) both armies met, where, after a terrible battle fought between them, Cæsar's murderers were vanquished, and, by the just retribution of divine vengeance upon them, they were both of them, that is, Cassius first, and afterwards Brutus, forced to murder themselves; and, what was most signal herein, they both did it with the same swords with which they had murdered him. After this, Octavianus returned to Rome, and Antony passed on into Asia to settle the eastern provinces. These matters are more fully related by Plutarch in the lives of M. Antonius and Brutus, and by Appian, Dion Cassius, and others; but it not being my purpose to write the Roman history, I meddle with it no otherwise than as it may serve to illustrate that of the Jews, which is the main subject of this work.

As soon as Cassius was gone out of Syria,^l the faction of Malichus rose in arms to revenge his death upon the sons of Antipater, and, having gained on

^e Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 4. Dion Cassius, lib. 47.

^f Plutarch. in Bruto, ibid.

^g Plutarch. in Bruto & Antonio. Appian. ibid. Dion Cassius, lib. 47.

^h Appian computes them to have been ninety-seven thousand horse and foot, besides other scattering forces that followed them. De Bellis Civilibus, lib. 4, p. 640.

ⁱ Antony, in his speech to the Asian Greeks at Ephesus, saith they were twenty-eight legions, and amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand men. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus. lib. 5, p. 674.

^k Plutarch. in Bruto & Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 47. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus. lib. 4. L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 7. Velleius Patercul. lib. 2. c. 70.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 20; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 10.

their side Hyrcanus, and also Felix, the commander of the Roman forces left at Jerusalem, did put all in an uproar in that city ; and, at the same time, a brother of Malichus' took possession of Massada, and several other castles in Judea, by the permission of Hyrcanus. Herod being then with Fabius, the Roman governour of Damascus, and there laid up by sickness, Phasaelus was forced alone to stand this storm, and weathered it with full success. For he drove Felix and all that party out of Jerusalem ; and, when Herod returned, both brothers together soon mastered this faction every where else, and recovered Massada again from them, and all other places which they had taken : and, when they had thus settled all matters again in peace, they justly upbraided Hyrcanus with ingratitude in favouring the adverse faction against them, when it was to the assistance and wise administration of Antipater, their father, that he owed all that he had. But a match being about this time set on footⁿ between Herod and Mariamne, the grand daughter of Hyrcanus, that reconciled all differences between them.

However, peace did not long continue. The suppressed faction soon revived again under another head. For they called to them Antigonus,ⁿ the younger son of Aristobulus, and, under the pretence of restoring him to his father's throne, raised new disturbances in the country. Aristobulus his father, and Alexander his eldest brother, being dead, he, as heir of the family, claimed the kingdom which Aristobulus had been possessed of ; and herein he was supported by Marion king of Tyre, Fabius governour of Damascus, and Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, prince of Chalcis : the first of these engaged in this cause, out of the hatred he bore to Herod the second, for the money which was given to hire him into it, and the last by reason of the affinity that was between their families ; for he had married a sister of Antigonus'. After Aristobulus had been poisoned by the Pompeians, and Alexander his son beheaded at Antioch, as hath been above related, and the family was thereby brought to great

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 21.

distress, this Ptolemy, the son of Menneus,^o sent Philippion his son to Askalon, where the widow of Aristobulus was retired with her remaining children, to bring them all to him to Chalcis, proposing there to provide for them. This he did for the sake of the love with which he was smitten for one of the daughters, named Alexandria. But Philippion taking the same liking to her, married her on the way, for which his father put him to death on his return, and then married her himself. And, by reason of this affinity, he did all he could to promote the interest of Antigonus;^p who being thus assisted by him, and the others mentioned, got an army into the field, for the pursuing of his pretensions. But Herod encountering him on his first entering Judea, gave him a total overthrow, and then recovering what Marion had taken in Galilee, he returned to Jerusalem with victory and triumph.

Antony having,^q after the victory of Philippi, passed over into Asia to settle all matters there in the interest of the conquerors, exacted grievous taxes and contributions in all places, for the payment of his soldiers, and the support of his excessive luxury which he thenceforth gave himself up unto. Wherever he came, after his arrival in those parts, he had his chamber door every morning thronged at his levee by kings and princes from the eastern countries, or by ambassadors from others of them to solicit his favour, and several of them brought with them their wives and daughters, that prostituting them to his lust, they might thereby the better obtain their ends. Among other ambassadors that came to him,^r there were several of principal note from the nation of the Jews, who were sent to accuse Phasaël and Herod for usurping the government from Hyrcanus, and abusing it to their own ends. But Herod being present, partly by his money, and partly by his interest with Antony, obtained, that Antony would not hear them. For^r he having received great obligations from

An. 41. Hyrcanus II. 23.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 13.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 21; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 10.

^q Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5.

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 22; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 10.

Antipater when he served under Gabinius in Judea, for his sake, much favoured his sons; and Herod, on this account, had ever after a very great interest with him. Not long after,^t there came to him other ambassadors out of Judea from Hyrcanus, to pray that the lands and territories, which Cassius had taken from the Jews, might be restored, and that all of that nation, whom Cassius had unjustly sold into slavery might be again set free; both which petitions were readily granted. At Tarsus,^u Cleopatra queen of Egypt came to him, being summoned to answer an accusation against her, as if she had favoured the interest of Cassius. On her arrival thither, by the charms of her beauty and her wit, she drew him into those snares which held him enslaved to her as long as he lived, and in the end, caused his ruin. On his coming into Syria,^x he deposed all the tyrants, which Cassius had made in that country. For, on his going from thence to the war against the triumvirs, for the raising of money for the expenses of that expedition,^y he cantoned out the greatest part of that country into small principalities, and sold them to those who would give most for them; and thus was it that Marion, who hath been mentioned,^z came to be king of Tyre. At Daphne, near Antioch,^a one hundred of the principal Jews came to him in another embassy with the same complaints against the sons of Antipater as the former. Antony now gave them an hearing; and Hyrcanus being present, he put it to him to declare, whom he thought the fittest to manage the government under him, to which he answered in favour of the two brothers, being induced hereto by reason of the affinity which he had newly contracted with Herod in the espousals of his grand daughter. Whereon Antony being otherwise inclined to favour the two brothers, for the reason abovementioned, made them both tetrarchs, and com-

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 22; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 10.

^u Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 23.

^x Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5, p. 675.

^y Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 10.

^z Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 10; Antiq. lib. 14, c. 21.

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 23; de Bello Judaico, *ibid*.

mitted all the affairs of Judea to their administration; and, having imprisoned fifteen of the ambassadors, would have put them to death, but that Herod saved them by his intercession. However, they did not give over their solicitation. For, on Antony's coming to Tyre, instead of the former one hundred, there came thither one thousand to him with the same accusations against the two brothers, which Antony looking on as a tumult rather than an embassy, caused them to be fallen upon by his soldiers, whereon several of them were slain, and more wounded.

Antony, wanting money to pay his army,^c sent all his horse to Palmyra; to take the plunder of that city, instead of their pay. This was an ancient city in Syria, formerly called Tadmor. The holy Scriptures^d make mention of it by this name, and tell us, that it was built in the desert by Solomon king of Israel,^e after his having vanquished and brought under him the kingdom of Hamoth Zoba, in which it was situated. When the Greeks became masters of those countries, they gave it the name of Palmyra,^f which it retained for several ages after; and, under it, about the middle of the third century after Christ, grew famous by being made the seat^g of the eastern empire under Odenathus and Zenobia. But, when the Saracens became lords of the East, they again restored to it the old name of Tadmor; and that it hath ever since borne even to this day. But it is now famous for nothing else but its ruins; which are^h the most august that are at present any where to be found; and these truly prove how great the magnificence, riches, and splendour of this ancient and noble city was in former times. It is one hundred and twenty-seven miles north of Damascus, on this side the Euphrates, at the distance of a day's journey from that river. The situation of it is much like what that of Ammonia in the deserts of Libya is described to

^c Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5.

^d 1 Kings ix, 18. 2 Chron. viii, 4.

^e 2 Chron. viii, 3.

^f Plin. lib. 5, c. 25.

^g Vide Tribellium Pollionem in duobus Galienis et Flavium Vopiscum in Aureliano, Zosimum, Zonaram, aliosque.

^h See an account of them published some time since by the Royal Society in their Philosophical Transactions.

have been. For it is built upon an island of firm land,ⁱ which lies in the midst of a vast ocean of sand in sandy deserts surrounding it on every side. Its neighbourhood to the Euphrates having placed it in the confines of two potent empires, that of the Parthians on the east, and that of the Romans on the west, it happened often that in times of war they were grinded between both. But, in times of peace, they made themselves sufficient amends^k by their commerce with each of them, and the great riches which they gained thereby. For the caravans from Persia and India, which now unload at Aleppo, did in those times unload at Palmyra, and from thence the eastern commodities which came over land being carried to the next ports on the Mediterranean, were from thence transmitted into the west; and the western commodities being through the same way brought from the said ports to this city, were there loaden on the same caravans, and on their return carried back and dispersed all over the East. So that as Tyre and afterwards Alexandria were the chief marts for the eastern trade that was carried on by sea, Palmyra was for some time the chief mart for so much of that trade as was carried on by land. By the means whereof, that place being very much enriched, Antony thought, with the plunder of it, to have paid off his cavalry; and, for this purpose, sent them thither. But the Palmyrenians,^k having timely notice of the design, had, before their arrival, removed all their families and effects to the other side of the Euphrates, where the invaders not being able to come at them, they were forced to return without the prey they came for; and, on their recess, the Palmyrenians came back again to their houses, and, being thus exasperated by this ill usage, did thenceforth put themselves under the protection of the Parthians, which became one of the principal causes of the second Parthian war.

Cleopatra^k having accompanied Antony as far as Tyre, there took her leave of him, and returned into Egypt, but left him so ensnared in the fetters of amour to her, that he could not stay long behind; and

ⁱ Plin. lib. 5, c. 25.

^k Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5.

therefore^l having appointed Plancus to be his lieutenant in Lesser Asia, and Saxa in Syria, he made haste after her to Alexandria, and there^m spent the whole ensuing winter with her, in a most scandalous conversation of luxury and lasciviousness. In the interimⁿ all Syria and Palestine being grievously oppressed with the taxes which were imposed on them,^o the Aradians and some others slew those who were sent to gather them; and thereon joined with the Palmyrenians, and those tyrants whom Antony had deposed,^p for the calling in of the Parthians against him; which put the whole country in the utmost misery and confusion. For the Parthians,^q on this invitation, passed the Euphrates with a great army, under the command of Pacorus the king's son, and Labienus, a Roman general of the Pompeian party. This Labienus was the son of Titus Labienus,^r who had been Cæsar's lieutenant in Gallia, and one of the chiefest of his friends; but afterward going over to Pompey, became the bitterest of his enemies, and was slain fighting against him in the battle of Munda.^s His son pursuing the same interest,^t was sent by Brutus and Cassius, a little before the battle at Philippi, in an embassy to the Parthian king, to pray his aid in that war; and was soliciting this matter at the Parthian court, when that battle happened; by the ill success whereof^u being discouraged from any more returning, he continued in that country, and^u having prevailed with king Orodes to undertake this war,^x was sent with Pacorus, the king's son, to be under him the chief commander in it. On their entering Syria,^y they van-

^l Dion Cassius, lib. 40. Appian. *ibid.*

^m Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. *ibid.*

ⁿ Dion Cassius, lib. 40.

^o Eusebius in Chronico. Dion Cassius, *ibid.* The Aradians were the inhabitants of the islands of Aradus in Syria.

^p Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5.

^q Appian. in Parthicis. Dion Cassius, lib. 48, p. 371. Plutarchus in Antonio. Epitome Livii, lib. 127.

^r Cæsar's Comment. Plutarch. in Cæsare et Pompeio.

^s Hirtius, in Comment. de Bello Hispaniensi.

^t Dion Cassius, lib. 48. L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 9. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 78.

^u Dion Cassius, lib. 48, p. 371.

^x Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Appian. in Parthicis. L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 9.

^y Dion Cassius, lib. 48. Florus, *ibid.* Epitome Livii, lib. 127. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 75.

quished Saxa in battle, and forced him to fly into Cilicia, and, after this, having divided the army between them, Labienus with one part of it pursued Saxa into Cilicia, and, having there slain him,^z overran all the Lesser Asia; and forcing Plancus to fly thence into the isles, brought all places under him, as far as the Hellespont and the Egean sea. And at the same time, Pacorus, with the other part of his army, subdued^a all Syria and Phœnicia, as far as Tyre, which alone stood out against him. For the remainder of the Roman forces in that country, having gotten thither before him, held out that place, so that he could not make himself master of it.

Antony,^b being roused up by the accounts brought him at Alexandria, of the ill state of his affairs in Italy, as well as in Syria and Lesser Asia, early in the ensuing spring took his leave of Cleopatra, to carry a remedy to them. For, in Italy,^c Fulvia his wife, and Lucius Antonius his brother, (who had been consul the preceding year,) having, under the pretence of supporting his interest, engaged in a war against Octavianus, were vanquished by him, and, after the taking of Perusia (where Lucius had suffered a long and hard siege^d in this cause,) were both driven out of that country. And what was the state of affairs in Syria and Lesser Asia hath been related. For the removing of these evils,^e he first sailed to Tyre; but, on his putting in there,^f finding all the country round in the hands of the Parthians, and^g receiving also in that place lamentable letters of complaint from Fulvia, concerning her suffering from Octavianus, he neglected the foreign enemy to make war upon the domestic, and sailed into Italy with two

An. 40. Hyrcanus II. 24.

^z Dion Cassius, *ibid.* L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 9. Plutarchus in Antonio, Appian. in Syriacis et Parthiis, & de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5.

^a Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 23; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 11.

^b Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5. Dion Cassius, lib. 48.

^c Plutarch. Dion Cassius, Appian. *ibid.* Velleius Patercul. lib. 2, c. 74.

^d The place was furnished into a surrender; hence Perusia's fame grew to be a proverb.

^e Plutarch. et Appian. *ibid.*

^f Dion Cassius, *ibid.*

^g Plutarch. *ibid.*

hundred sail of ships against Octavianus; but, on his arrival thither, receiving an account^h that Fulvia was dead at Sicyon, he hearkened to the advice of his friends, for the making up of all differences with Octavianus, by marrying Octavia his sister, who had lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus her former husband;^h on which terms peace being made between them, they both went together to Rome, and the marriage was there solemnized with great pomp and solemnity. After this the triumvirs came to a new partition of the Roman empire between them, by virtue whereof, Lepidus had the provinces of Africa; Octavianus Dalmatia, the two Gallia's, Spain and Sardinia; and Antony all the eastern province beyond the Adriatic. And the war against the Parthians was committed to his charge, and that against Sextus Pompeius (who had seized Sicily) to Octavianus; and Italy, it was agreed, should be common to them both, for the raising of forces for these wars.

In the mean time Labienusⁱ ravaged all the Lesser Asia, and Pacorus,^k having taken in Sidon and Ptolemais, sent a party to invade Judea, for the making of Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king of that country. For Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, prince of Chalcis,^l dying this year,^l Lysanias his son, who succeeded him in that principality, having a great interest with Barzapharnes, a chief commander of the army that followed Pacorus, contracted with him in the behalf of Antigonus (to whom he was allied in the manner as hath been abovementioned,) that, for one thousand talents, and five hundred Jewish women, to be given to the Parthians by Antigonus, they should restore him to his father's kingdom; which contract being consented to and ratified by Pacorus, he sent from Ptolemais a part of his army under the command of his cup bearer, called also Pacorus, to put it into execution. Whereon Antigonus, having gotten together

^h Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5. Livii Epit. lib. 127. Dion Cassius, lib. 48, p. 375.

ⁱ Plutarch. in Antonio. L. Florus lib. 4, c. 9. Dion Cassius, lib. 48. Appian. in Syriacis et Parthices, et de Bellis Civilibus lib. 5.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 24, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 11.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 23.

an army of Jews from about Mount Carmel, and elsewhere, marched with them into Judea, and the cup bearer^m followed to support him. Antigonus having vanquished in battle those that first came forth to oppose him, pursued them unto Jerusalem, where, having gotten into the city, many skirmishes happened between him and the two brothers; in which the Antigonians being worsted, were forced to take shelter in the mountain of the temple, and the other party seized the palace; and from these two places, as the head quarters of the two parties, they frequently sallied upon each other; and these hostilities were continued between them, till the feast of Pentecost, when great numbers of people coming to Jerusalem from all parts to this holy solemnity, and some joining on one side, and some on the other, this produced such great distractions, and such shedding of blood in every part of the city, as moved both parties to think of a composure of these troubles. Hereon Antigonus subdolosly proposed the calling in of the cup bearer, to arbitrate all differences between them (for he having followed Antigonus, according to the orders of his master, was then with his forces encamped without the walls of the city;) which proposal being accepted of, the cup bearer, with five hundred of his horse, was received into Jerusalem, and he taking his lodging at Phasaël's house, and being there kindly entertained as his guest, made use of this opportunity to work his host into such a confidence in him, as to be drawn by his treacherous persuasions to go on an embassy to Barzapharnes, (who then governed Syria under Pacorus,) as being made believe by this subtle Parthian, that it was the certainest way to gain such a settlement of his affairs, as would be best to his content. And therefore, taking Hyrcanus along with him, he went on this journey, wholly against the opinion of Herod, who having no faith in the Parthians, blamed his brother's credulity in this matter. The cup bearer conducted them on their way with part of his horse, leaving the other part at Jerusalem. When the ambassa-

^m I choose to mention him by this name, that the reader may not confound him with the other Pacorus the king's son.

dors came into Galilee, they were met with a guard from Barzapharnes to conduct them to him; and the cup bearer returned again to Jerusalem. Barzapharnes at first received them with an appearance of kindness, till he thought the cup bearer was returned again to Jerusalem, and had there seized Herod according to the orders that were given him. But as soon as, by computing the time, he concluded this was done,ⁿ he caused both Phasaël and Hyrcanus to be seized and put into chains. Herod having timely intelligence hereof, before any part of the intended treachery could be executed upon him, got away from Jerusalem in the night, taking with him all his family, and the best of his effects, and as many soldiers in his pay, as he had then at hand, for their guard, and made the best of his way towards Massada,^o which was a castle built on the top of a very high mountain near the west side of the lake Asphaltites, and the strongest fortress in all that country. In his march thither, he was several times assaulted, both by the Parthians pursuing him, and also by the Jews of the opposite faction; but in all these conflicts he had the better of them; and having more especially in one of them which was fought with the Jews of Antigonus' party, at the distance of about seven miles from Jerusalem, gotten a more remarkable advantage than in any of the rest, he there afterwards built a very famous palace,^p called Herodium, in memory of it. On his coming to Ressa in Idumea, his brother Joseph met him with such forces as he could get together for his assistance. But, on their drawing near to Massada, that place not being capable of containing all the company, Herod dismissed nine thousand of them. Of the rest, he put eight hundred into the castle, with his mother, sister, and the other women of quality which he brought with him from Jerusalem; and then having furnished the fortress with provisions for several months, and left Joseph in the chief command of it, he with the

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 25; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 11.

^o See a full description of this fortress in Josephus, de Bello Judaico, lib. 7, c. 31, p. 937, 938.

^p This palace is described by Josephus, de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 16.

remainder of his followers, made the best of his way for Petra in Arabia, where Malchus, having succeeded Aretas, then reigned as king of that country. Herod, having laid many obligations upon him by former kindnesses and services, thought to have found him his friend in this time of need; but, he being one, who, like many others, would not own a friend in adversity, as soon as he heard of Herod's case, sent to him to depart his dominions, pretending for it the command of the Parthians. Hereon Herod dismissing most of those who had hitherto followed him, went directly for Egypt; and, on his coming to Rhinocorura, on his way thither, he there had an account of the death of Phasaël his brother.

For the Parthians,^q when they found Herod gone from Jerusalem, after having first plundered the place and all the country round, made Antigonus, according as they had agreed with him, king of Judea, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasaël in chains to him. Phasaël knowing his death to be determined, to prevent the executioner, beat out his brains against the wall of the prison. Hyrcanus' life was spared: but, to incapacitate him from being any longer high priest, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off. (For no one was,^r according to the Levitical law, to be priest or high priest among the Jews, who was not perfect and whole in all the parts and members of his body,) and after this delivered him back again to the Parthians to be carried by them into the East, that, being so far off, he might not be in the way to disturb him; and accordingly on their return they carried him to Seleucia, and soon after there happened a reason which forced them to return sooner than they intended.

For Antony,^s after his agreement with Octavianus, having sent Ventidius, one of his lieutenants, into the East against them, he managed this war with such success, as soon cleared all the Roman territories of them. His passage into Asia^t was with such speedy

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 25; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 11.

^r Levit. xxi, 16—24.

^s Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. in Parthicis, & de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5.

^t Dion Cassius, lib. 48.

expedition, that, arriving thither much sooner than expected, he surprised Labienus with the suddenness of his coming, before he was prepared to withstand him. For he had then none of the Parthian army with him, but only such forces as were made up of Roman deserters, and those Asiatics which he had gathered up in Syria, Phoenicia, and Lesser Asia, since his coming over the Euphrates. And therefore, not daring to stand the approach of a Roman army, he retreated before them as fast as he could, till he came to Mount Taurus, where having, by the advantage of the mountains, encamped in such a place as secured him from being forced to a battle, he sent to Pacorus for assistance: hereon an army of Parthians coming thither to his aid, they had the Romans in such contempt, because of their former victories over them, that they engaged Ventidius, before Labienus could come to join them; and therefore, being overthrown in this battle, and most of them cut in pieces, they received the reward which was justly due to their presumption. Labienus' soldiers being terrified with this defeat of the Parthians, all deserted him and fled, every one shifting as well as he could for himself: whereon Ventidius, pursuing after them, slew some of them, and, having taken the rest, listed them among his own forces. Labienus, making his escape in a disguise, for some time skulked about in Cilicia from one hiding place to another, till at length being discovered by Demetrius (a freed man of Julius Cæsar's, whom Antony had made governour of Cyprus,) he was taken and put to death. After this victory,^u Ventidius having recovered all Cilicia, marched on to Mount Amanus, which parted Cilicia from Syria; where he met another army of Parthians, who, under the command of Pharnapates one of Pacorus' lieutenants, had seized the passes into Syria, and thereby endeavoured to hinder his further progress. But Ventidius, falling on them, slew their general, and gained a second victory over them as considerable as the former; and

^u Dion Cassius lib. 48. Appian. in Parthicis. Epit. Livii, lib. 127. Florus, lib. 4. c. 9. Plutarch. in Antonia.

then, without any further opposition, passed on into Syria. Whereon Pacorus,^x calling all his forces to him, marched back with all the haste he was able, and re-passing the Euphrates, left Syria, and all else on this side that river, wholly to the Romans, and all again in those countries returned to their former subjection to them, excepting only the Aradians, who, by reason of their having slain those that were sent thither to gather their taxes, despairing of pardon, held out for some time, till they were at length reduced by force of arms.

In the interim,^y Herod from Rhinocorura went to Pelusium, and from thence to Alexandria; where, taking ship, he passed by the way of Rhodes and Brundisium to Rome; and there applying to Antony, acquainted him of the lamentable state all his affairs in Judea were then in; and earnestly prayed his aid. Antony,^z on the account of the friendship which he had first with his father, and afterwards with him, pitied his case, and, for the sake of a great sum of money promised, undertook to help him, and did much more for him than he expected. For whereas the utmost of his design was to have obtained the kingdom for Aristobulus, the brother of Mariamne, whom he had lately espoused, without proposing any thing further for his own interest, than that he might govern the country under him in the same manner as Antipater had under Hyrcanus his grandfather,^a Antony procured, that the crown was given to him, contrary to the custom of the Romans commonly practised by them in this case. For they used not to pass over the royal line of any dependent kingdom, and grant the crown to one that was an alien to it. But Octavianus being prevailed with to favour the design, partly to gratify Antony, and partly out of gratitude to the family of Antipater, for the seasonable help

^x Dion Cassius & Appian. in Parthiciis. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 26; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 12.

^y Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 25; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 11.

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 26, &c.

^a He was the son of Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus, by Alexander the son of Aristobulus, the brother of Hyrcanus, so that he had the title of both brothers in him.

brought by him to Julius Cæsar in Egypt, their joint interest was not to be withstood. And therefore Messala and Atratinus, two noble senators, having introduced Herod into the senate, and there set forth the merits of him and his family toward the Roman people, and the demerits of Antigonus, and Antony having added, that it would be very advantageous to him in his carrying on the Parthian war, to have Herod king of Judea, the royal dignity was decreed to him by the unanimous suffrage of the whole senate, and Antigonus was declared an enemy to the Roman state. And, on the rising of the senate, Herod was conducted by the consuls and other magistrates up to the capitol, Octavianus going on one side of him, and Antony on the other; and, the decree being there deposited among the public records of the state, he was thereon solemnly inaugurated into the kingdom, according to the Roman usage. Having had so good and expeditious success in this matter, he made all the haste back again into Judea that he was able. For, having tarried only seven days at Rome for the despatch of this whole affair, he returned to his ships at Brundusium, and, sailing thence with the first fair wind, he landed at Ptolemais towards the end of summer, so that he was not above three months in all this journey, both by sea and land.

On his arrival,^b his first care was to relieve his mother, sister, and other friends that were shut up in Massada. For Antigonus^c had besieged them with a close siege ever since his departure, and had once brought them to so great a distress for want of water, that Joseph had resolved to attempt desperately to break through the besiegers, and fly unto Malchus in Arabia: for he had heard that Malchus had repented of his unkindness to Herod, and was now much better inclined to him and his party. But the night before he intended to have put this design in execution, there fell such plentiful showers of rain, as filled all their cisterns, and thereby put them in a capacity of holding out till Herod came and relieved them. And to re-

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 27; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 12.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 26; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 12.

lieve them being what he had most at heart (especially for the sake of Mariamne, his late betrothed mistress, who was a lady of the greatest beauty, and the greatest merit of any of her time,) he did all he could to provide for it. For, immediately on his return, he set himself to raise men, listing into his service as well foreigners as Jews, and with those, and such Roman auxiliaries as he received from Ventidius and Silo, his lieutenant in Palestine, he made himself master of all Galilee, some few places only excepted. After this, he endeavoured to get at Massada, but not thinking it safe to leave so strong a place as Joppa behind him in the hands of his enemies, he took in that first, and then proceeded to the place intended, and having there raised the siege, and received all his friends, he took in Ressa, a strong fortress in Idumea; and, marching back, joined Silo, whom Ventidius had left in Judea, for the promoting of his interest, and encamped with him before the walls of Jerusalem.

For Ventidius, on his having driven the Parthians out of Syria,^c marched into Palestine, out of pretence to relieve Joseph in Massada, but in reality to get as much money as he could; and therefore, having appeared before Jerusalem, and thereby frightened Antigonus to part with all the money he could get together, for the purchasing of his departure, he marched back into Syria with the gross of his army, leaving Silo with the rest in Judea. And with these he joined Herod, but did him more hurt than good. For, following the same method which Ventidius had lately given him an example for, he managed this war in no other manner, than as it might bring most money into his own pocket, receiving great sums from Herod to promote his interest, and, at the same time, greater from Antigonus to hinder it; so that, playing booty on both sides, he squeezed each of them to the utmost, and truly served neither. He helped Herod indeed in reducing Joppa, and, on his return from Massada, went with him to the siege of Jerusalem, but there managed that matter so, that by encourag-

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 26; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 12.

ing his soldiers in mutiny, on pretence of wanting necessaries, he made it end only in the sackage of Jericho, to the utter ruin of that place, and then dismissed the army into winter quarters, which he made Herod provide for them in Idumea, Samaria, and Galilee.

This year was born to Asinius Pollio, consul of Rome,^e a son, whom, from his taking of Salone, a city in Dalmatia, he called Saloninus; on his birth, Virgil made his fourth eclogue, and therein attributes to him, what was then generally talked, first by the Jews, and afterwards from them by others, of the kingdom of the Messiah, who was speedily to appear, and restore the righteousness and bliss of the golden age again to the world. That Saloninus was not this person, was soon proved,^f for he died on the ninth day after his birth; but what was then foretold and rumoured abroad concerning this matter, was in less than forty years after, all fulfilled in the birth of our Saviour. And the kingdom of Christ would truly be all that this eclogue describes it to be, would men but keep the laws thereof. Where all do good to all, there is heaven; and where all do evil to all, there is hell; and according as the one or the other prevails, so we have an heaven or an hell here on earth. The law of Christ is truly and exactly calculated for the former; and were the righteousness, justice, and charity, which it enjoins, fully observed, then all would do good to all, and a state of bliss would be established among men here on earth, next that which is enjoyed by the saints in heaven. And all that is said of the golden age by the poets, or of the kingdom of the Messiah by the prophets of Israel, would truly be verified in this life; and that it is not so, is wholly owing to the wickedness of men, who, by their malice, violence, and uncharitableness, obstruct what, otherwise, the law of Christ would effect, and thereby introduce an hell instead of an heaven among us.

^e Servius in Notis ad quartam Eclogam Virgilio.

^f Ibid. ad Versum primum.

Herod,^g though he had put Silo's soldiers into winter quarters, still kept the field with his own; one part of which he sent into Idumea, Anno 39. Antigonus 1. under the command of his brother Joseph, to secure all there to his interest; with the rest he marched to Samaria, and, having there placed his mother, sister, and all his other friends which he brought from Masada, under a safe guard, he passed on into Galilee, and there reduced Sepphoris, and all other places which held for Antigonus in that country; and after that betook himself to rid it of those bands of thieves and banditti, which at that time very much infested it. For, there being many mountains and steep craggy rocks in this country, with caves in them capable of affording hiding places for great numbers of this sort of people, great numbers of them were often found from those dens to make ravages and depredations in it, and never more than at this time. For the suppressing of these, Herod marched with all his forces against them, and all were scarce enough; for these robbers, having joined their forces together, made such an head against him, that at first Herod's left wing was put to the rout, till he himself came up in person with other forces to their relief; whereon having gained the victory, he pursued them as far as the river Jordan, and there drove them all out of the country, excepting only some few, who lurking behind, sheltered themselves in the caves and fastnesses of the mountains. After this he gave his soldiers a donative of one hundred and fifty drachms a man, and dismissed them into winter quarters. While they lay there, he took care, by the agency of Pheroras, his brother, to furnish them, and also the Romans under Silo, with plenty of provisions; and also took care at the same time, by the same person, for the re-edifying and new fortifying of the castle of Alexandrium. And, as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field, he marched again into Galilee, to rid it from the remainder of those thieves, who still infested that country, from the caves and holes of the mountains where they had taken shelter; but

^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 17; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 12.

how to come at them was the difficulty. For, by reason of the cragginess and steepness of those mountains, there was no scaling them from below, and to get down to them from above by any passage was altogether as impracticable; and therefore, to ferret them out of their dens, he was forced to make certain chests, and, filling them with soldiers, to let them down into the entrances of those caves, by chains from engines which he had fixed above; by which means having destroyed all that lurked in them, or else reduced them to terms of submission, he wholly quieted that country for the present, and marched to Samaria, from thence to make war upon Antigonus. But he was no sooner gone, but those thieves, whom he had lately driven over Jordan, again returned, and infesting anew that country, slew Ptolemy, whom Herod had made governour of it, and began again to ravage all round about them. But Herod, on notice hereof, coming back again, soon made them pay dear for it. For, ferreting them out of all their hiding holes, he cut off the most of them, destroyed all their places of retreat, and deeply fined all of the country that had afforded them any relief or countenance; by which necessary rigour he at length restored full peace and security to all Galilee.

In the interim,^h Antony was at Athens, there spending this winter with his new wife Octavia, in the same excesses of luxury, folly, and loose divertisements, as he had the former with Cleopatra at Alexandria. While he thus lay idle in that place,^h there came thither to him an account of the two victories gained by Ventidius against the Parthians; for which he made great rejoicing and feasting in that place. But hearing that Pacorus was making great preparations for another invasion into Syria, he thought not fit any longer to lie still and leave it to his lieutenant to reap all the laurels of this war. And therefore, as soon as the spring advanced, he left Athens with all his forces, and marched towards the east; but, before he could get thither, Ventidius had gained a third victory, much

^h Dion Cassius, lib. 48. Appian, de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5. Plutarch. in Antonio.

greater than the other two,ⁱ whereby he seemed to have fully revenged the death of Crassus, and those that were cut off with him in the battle of Carrhæ: for the loss on the Parthians' side, at this time was altogether as signal as that other on the Romans'; Pacorus himself, and above twenty thousand of his best men, being slain in the overthrow. The manner whereby it was effected was as followeth.

Ventidius,ⁱ hearing that the Parthians were in great readiness for another expedition into Syria, feared that they might pass the Euphrates upon him, before he should be able to get his army together from the several places where they were dispersed into quarters, for the putting of himself into a condition to oppose them. And therefore, for the preventing thereof, he had recourse to this stratagem. There being then in his camp, under the name of an ally, a petty prince of those eastern parts, whom he knew to be a well wisher and secret correspondent of the Parthians, that communicated to them all intelligence he could get of the Roman councils and designs, he laid a plot of serving himself by this man's treachery. For, taking the first opportunity that offered to discourse with him, and expressing himself, as if he placed great confidence in him, communicated to him pretended fears, feigning that he had heard, and was thereon much concerned, that the Parthians, waving the usual passage of the Euphrates at Zeugma, intended now to enter Syria another way, at a passage of that river much below the former. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side the Euphrates is there mountainous, where the Parthian horse, of which their army mostly consists, will not be useful to them; but, in case they take the lower passage, the country is all plain, and there their horse will have their full advantage, and the Romans will not be able to stand before them. As soon as this conference was over, the traitor, according as Ventidius foresaw, conveyed a full ac-

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 27. Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. in Parthicis. Dion Cassius, lib. 49. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 751. Epitome Livii, 128, Justin. lib. 42, c. 4. Julius Frontin, Stratagem. lib. 1, c. 1. & lib. 2, c. 2. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 78. Eutrop. lib. 7. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 18.

count of it to the Parthians, and there it had the full effect which was intended. For Pacorus, immediately hereon altering his course, left the road of Zeugma, and took his route into the other road, where Ventidius wished he should; which causing a long march about, and requiring other preparations to be made for the passing of the river at the place now intended, while all this was a doing, forty days were gained to Ventidius; in which time having gotten to him Silo from Judea, and all his legions from beyond Taurus, where they had been quartered, he was in full readiness to meet the Parthians, as soon as they entered Syria, where, having first overwitted them by several stratagems and artifices of war, he at length vanquished them with that signal overthrow which I have mentioned. It is remarked of this victory of the Romans, that, as it fully revenged the victory gotten over Crassus by the Parthians, so^k it was gotten on the same day of the year on which the other was lost, just fourteen years before. It happened, therefore, in the month of June; for in that month the battle of Carrhæ was fought by Crassus.

Orodes, king of Parthia, hearing of this defeat, and the death of his son in it,^l was so overwhelmed with excess of grief for this calamity, that he grew distracted upon it. For several days he sat mute, not speaking a word, or caring to take any meat; and, when his grief had at length made way for his tongue to express it, nothing else could be heard from him but the name of Pacorus; sometimes he would seem to see him, and call upon him as if present, sometimes to talk with him, sometimes to hear him speaking to him, and at other times, recollecting that he was lost, he would pour out his lamentations for it with showers of tears. And, in truth, there was reason enough for all this grief in the present case. For this overthrow was^l the greatest blow which the Parthians had at any time till now ever received; and the loss of the prince was as great as that of the army; for^m he was the worthiest

k Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 405. Eutropius, & Orosius, lib. 6, c. 18.

l Justin. lib. 42, c. 4.

m Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 404.

person for justice and clemency, as well as for valour, and all other princely qualities, which the royal family of Arsaces had ever bred; by which, in the short time that he was in Syria, he so far endeared himself to the people of that country, that they never expressed a greater affection for any prince that ever reigned over them than they did for him.

Had Ventidius, after this victory, pursued all the advantages of it, he might have driven the Parthians out of all Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and extended the Roman empire to the banks of the Tigris, if not beyond them; but he feared heⁿ might thereby excite the envy of Antony against him; and therefore contented himself with reducing all those places in Syria and Phœnicia which had revolted from the Romans in the late war; and, in pursuit hereof, he was with all his army in Commagena when Antony arrived. For Antiochus,^o the king of that country, having embraced the Parthian interest against the Romans, Ventidius made war upon him for it, and, having shut him up in Samosata, the capital of his kingdom, was then straitly besieging him. Antony, on his coming thither, took this war out of his hands, and dismissing him from his presidency of Syria, and all other command, sent him to Rome, on pretence that he might there take his triumph for his victories; but the true reason was,^p he envied him the glory of them, and therefore sent him away from the army, with which he was in great reputation, and never employed him afterwards, though on many occasions after this time he needed so able and experienced a general to fight his battles for him. However Ventidius,^q on his return to Rome, was there received with all the honour that his victories deserved: for he was not only admitted to his triumph, but had it granted to him with the general applause of all the Roman people; and herein had this peculiar glory, that he was the only person that ever triumphed over the Parthians, none before or after having ever attained

ⁿ Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. in Parthicis.

^o Plutarch. & Appian. in Parthicis. Dion Cassius, lib. 49.

^p Plutarch. Appian. et Dion Cassius, *ibid.*

^q Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 404, 405. A. Gellius, lib. 15, c. 4.

to it besides him alone. And another thing was also peculiar to him in this matter, which was altogether as remarkable,^r that is, he came to this honour of triumphing from being led in triumph himself, which no one besides himself ever did. For, in the social war which the Italian allies waged with Rome for the freedom of that city, being made a captive at the taking of Asculum, the chief city of Picenum, by Strabo, the father of Pompey, he was then, being very young, led before that general in his triumph for the said victory. After this, his family being brought to poverty by the ruin and sackage of their city, he was forced, when grown up, to betake himself to a mean and sordid employment for his livelihood. For at first^s he was only a muleteer; and, being used to provide mules for the carrying of the baggage of such Roman magistrates as were sent to govern foreign provinces, Cæsar made use of him for that purpose when he first went into Gallia; and, having on that occasion taken notice of the activity and quick apprehension of the man, took him with him into his Gallic wars; wherein, by his valour and other military qualifications, he rose so fast through all the stations of the camp, as that he became one of the chief of Cæsar's generals in all the wars that he afterwards waged; and, on his return to the city, reaped honours there as fast as he had in the army, being first made tribune of the people,^s and afterwards prætor and consul of Rome.^t After Cæsar's death,^u he joined himself to Antony, and fought for his cause in the wars both of Mutina and Perugia; and afterwards being sent as his lieutenant into the East, he there obtained the victories I have mentioned; for which having triumphed, at his return to Rome, he there afterwards lived, and there died in great honour;^x and, on his decease, a public funeral was there made for him at the charges of the common wealth.

^r Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 65. Valerius Maximus, lib. 6, c. 9. Plinius, lib. 7, c. 43. A. Gellius, *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 405.

^s A. Gellius, lib. 15, c. 4.

^t Dion Cassius, lib. 47, p. 355. A. Gellius, *ibid.*

^u Plutarch. in Antonio.

^x A. Gellius, *ibid.*

In the interim^y Herod carried on his war in Judea against Antigonus; and Macheras, a Roman general, by the order of Antony, was sent with two legions and and one thousand horse to his assistance. But, on his approach to the walls of Jerusalem, where he went with design to confer with Antigonus, being beaten back by the archers and slingers that guarded the rampart, he fell into such a rage hereon, that, on his retreat from thence, he slew all the Jews that came in his way, without regarding whether they were friends or foes; in which wild fury of his many of Herod's friends being cut off, he could not bear it with patience; and therefore went away immediately to Samaria, and from thence hastened towards Antony, to make complaint to him of this outrage: of which Macheras having notice, made after him as fast as he could, and, having overtaken him, prevailed with him to overlook what was past, and be reconciled unto him. However, Herod continuing his journey to pay his respects unto Antony, left Joseph, his brother, to command in Judea during his absence, but with special order to put nothing to hazard till he should return. On his coming to Antony (whom he found still at Samosata,) he was received with great honour, and, in requital of it, there did him special service in the carrying on of the siege of that place. Ventidius first began it, as hath been already mentioned, and king Antiochus, whom he shut up therein,^z offered one thousand talents for his peace; but Antony, on his arrival, not accepting of it, after he had dismissed Ventidius, carried on the siege himself, but with much less success. For the people of the place, on Antony's rejecting the best terms they could offer him for peace, being by desperation made valiant, defended themselves so well, that^a Antony was glad at length to compound the matter with Antiochus for less than one third of the sum that was offered, that so he might raise the siege with honour, which otherwise he feared

^y Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 27, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 12.

^z Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. in Parthicis.

^a Plutarch. et Appian. ibid. Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 405:

he might be forced to without it, by reason of the discontent of his own soldiers. For they being all displeased at the dismissal of Ventidius, under whom they had gotten such signal victories, did very much resent it; and therefore executed Antony's orders in the siege neither with that vigour nor that care as was necessary to make them succeed. After this, Antony, having appointed Sosius to be his lieutenant in Cilicia,^b Syria, and Palestine, left the army with him, and sailed to Athens,^c and from thence to Brundisium, to confer with Octavianus: but, not finding him there at the time appointed, he returned back to Athens, and from thence passed to Alexandria, and there spent the ensuing winter in the same dalliances and luxurious delights with Cleopatra as he had the winter two years before.

While Herod was absent in his attendance upon Antony,^b Joseph, forgetting the orders he had received from him, made an expedition against Jericho, taking with him his own men, and five cohorts received from Macheras; but, being there circumvented by the enemy, he was himself slain, and most of his forces cut in pieces: whereon those that were disaffected to Herod in Galilee and Idumea revolted from him in both these provinces. Herod being come back from Antony as far as Daphne, near Antioch, had there an account brought him of these misfortunes; whereon he hastened back into Judea, to bring the best remedy to them that he could. On his coming to Mount Libanus, he there raised eight hundred men; and with these and one Roman cohort marched to Ptolemais, and from thence made war upon the revolvers of Galilee; and, having there received another cohort from Antony, soon brought all those again to submit to him who had in that country declared against him; and after that went to Jericho, for the revenging of his brother Joseph's death, but there attempted it to his hurt: for the Antigonians in those parts, overpowering him with

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 27, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 13.

^c Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5. Dion Cassius, lib. 48, p. 385.

numbers, put his forces to the rout, and wounded Herod himself in the conflict. But, after this, having gotten more men together about him, he soon grew into a better condition for the prosecuting of the war. And therefore, finding that Pappus, a prime general of Antigonus', had taken the field against him with the main strength of that party, he engaged him in battle, and gained an absolute victory over him, having slain Pappus himself in the rout, and cut off most of his army with him; and, had it not been for the severity of the winter, which now approached, he had gone immediately to Jerusalem, and made an end of the war by taking that place; but the soldiers not being able to bear lying any longer abroad, he was forced to put them into winter-quarters, and to defer what remained undone to the operation of the next campaign.

As soon as the spring began to come on,^e Antony sailed from Alexandria to Athens, where he had left his wife Octavia ever since his last going from thence for Syria, and, having taken her in, passed from thence with her for Italy, attended with a fleet of three hundred sail, and landed at Tarentum, proposing with this naval force to assist Octavianus against Sextus Pompeius; but Octavianus not accepting his aid, out of jealousy of him, this had like to have made another quarrel between them, and other reasons of discontent on this occasion were urged on both sides against each other; but Octavia, mediating between her husband and her brother, made up all matters. And, whereas the five years were now near expiring, for which the sovereign government of the Roman empire was granted to the triumvirs by the people, they^f prolonged it for five years more by their own authority, and as long as the sovereignty was in them, they thought by virtue thereof they had a right so to do. After this Antony returned into Syria to make preparations for the Parthian war.^g

An. 38. Antigonus 2.

^e Plutarch. in Antonio. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5. Dion Cassius, lib. 48.

^f Plutarch. et Appian. ibid.

^g Dion Cassius, lib. 48, in fine. Plutarch. et Appian. ibid.

Octavia accompanied him as far as Corcyra; but, that she might not be exposed with him to the dangers of that expedition, he from thence sent her back into Italy, there to reside till it should be over,^g committing her, and the children which he had either by her or Fulvia, to the care of Octavianus.

On Antony's returning into Syria,^h Octavianus married Livia Drusilla, the daughter of Livius Drusus, who having been one of those that were proscribed by the triumvirs, was driven thereby to take shelter with Brutus and Cassius; after whose overthrow at Philippi, not knowing where else to fly, he fell on his sword and slew himself. She was first the wife of Tiberius Nero, and bore him Tiberius Cæsar, who succeeded Augustus in the empire. On the breach that happened between Octavianus and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, he sided with the latter, whereon he was forced, after the taking of Perusia, to fly out of Italy, carrying with him his wife and his young son Tiberius; but being included in the pacification that was afterwards made between Octavianus and Antony, he returned to Rome, where Octavianus falling in love with her, Tiberius, for the purchase of his favour, willingly yielded her unto him; and he accordingly married her, though she were then great with child by Tiberius, and within three months of her time of delivery. This for some time caused a delay, and the pontifices were consulted about the lawfulness of marrying her in this case; but their answer being, that it was only unlawful, when it might cause a doubt to which husband the next child born of her might belong; and it being now, after six months pregnancy, past all doubt, that the child next to be born belonged to Tiberius, Octavianus forthwith married her, and three months after a son being born of her (the same who hereafter, by the name of Drusus will be often spoken of,) he was sent to Tiberius as to the proper father; but Tiberius dying a little after, both this son and the other also were sent back to Octavianus, to be tak-

^g Dion Cassius, lib. 48, in fine. Plutarch. et Appian. ibid.

^h Dion Cassius, lib. 48, p. 383. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 62, et in Tiberio, c. 4.

en care of, and bred up by him, as being left their guardian by the will of their father. He had a former wife called Scribonia, who brought him his daughter Julia. Her he divorced for her ill temper; but Livia, though she brought him no children, continued to be his wife as long as he lived, and always commanded his affection to the last.

In the interim,ⁱ Herod having made great preparations for the carrying on of this year's campaign, brought a great army into the field, and, marching with it directly up to the walls of Jerusalem, laid close siege to that city, and forthwith ordered the casting up of such works against it, as were in those times made use of for the taking of besieged places. While this was a doing, he himself went to Samaria, and there consummated his marriage with Mariamne.^k He had betrothed her four years before, but his troubles hindered, that he did not marry her till now. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, by Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus II. and therefore was grand daughter to both^l those brothers. She was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and great virtue, and in all other laudable qualifications accomplished beyond most others of her time. The Jews of those times having generally a zealous affection for the family of the Asmoneans, Herod thought, that by marrying this lady out of it, he should the easier reconcile that people to him; and this made him so earnest for the consummating of the marriage at this time. On his return^m to his army before Jerusalem, Sosius, the governour of Syria, came thither to him. For, being ordered by Antony to do his utmost for the subduing of Antigonus, and the putting of Herod in full possession of the kingdom of Judea, he marched into that country with the best of his forces for this purpose, and, having joined Herod before Jerusalem, they both together pushed on the siege of that place

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 27, in fine, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 13.

^k In Hebrew the name is Miriam, in Greek Maria, in Josephus Mariamne, but most Latin writers call her Mariam.

^l Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were brothers, as being both the sons of Alexander Jannæus, by Alexandra his queen.

^m Joseph. de Bello Judaico, ibid. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 28.

with the utmost vigour, and a very numerous army. For both of them together had no fewer than eleven legions,ⁿ and six thousand horse, besides the Syrian auxiliaries. However, the place held out several months with a great deal of resolution, and, had the military skill of those who defended it, been equal to their valour, they could not have been subdued. But their defence being made rather with boldness, than due order and good conduct, according to the art of war, the Romans herein much outdid them; and, by means hereof, at length carried the place, after a siege of above half a year.^o

For it was not till the year next after following, that the place was taken. For then,^p the Jews being beaten out of all their places of defence, the city was broken up, and the enemy entering it on every side, made themselves thorough masters of it, and being exasperated by the length of the siege, and the great labour and hardship which they had endured in it, for the revenging hereof, they filled all the quarters of the place with blood and slaughter, and ravaged it all over with rapine and devastation. Herod did all he could to hinder both, but without success, Sosius encouraging the soldiers in what they did. Hereon Herod went to him with heavy complaints about it, alleging that, if the city were thus destroyed by plunder and slaughter, the Romans would make him only king of a desert; and therefore desired, that a stop might be put to this ravage and cruelty; but, receiving no other answer, but that the spoils of the city were due to the soldiers, for the reward of their labour and valour in the taking of it, he was forced, by a sum of money, to redeem the city from all further devastations, which otherwise would have been utterly ruined and destroyed.

ⁿ Legions were of an uncertain number, as containing sometimes four thousand, sometimes five thousand, and sometimes six thousand men; according to the lowest computation, this army with the horsemen and Syrian auxiliaries, could not be less than sixty thousand men.

^o That is, reckoning from the time that Herod came before the place, which was some time before Sosius joined him, and carried on the siege in conjunction with him.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 28, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 13. Dion Cassius, lib. 49.

Antigonus seeing all lost,^q surrendered himself to Sosius, and cast himself in a very submissive and abject manner at his feet to pray his compassion. But Sosius, despising his cowardice and meanness of spirit, rejected him with scorn; and looking on such behaviour as more becoming a woman than a man, instead of Antigonus,^r by way of contempt, called him Antigona, and forthwith ordered him to be put in chains, and as soon as Antony was returned out of Italy, and came again to Antioch, Sosius sent this captive king thither to him. Antony^s at first intended to have reserved him for his triumph. But Herod not thinking himself safe in his kingdom, as long as this remainder of the old royal family continued alive, never left soliciting Antony, till at length, by a great sum of money, he obtained, that this poor prince was put to death; to which he having been condemned by a formal sentence in judicature, this sentence^t was executed upon him in the same manner, as upon a common criminal, by the rods and axe of the lictor, which the Romans never before subjected any crowned head to. And here ended the reign of the Asmoneans, after it had lasted, from the beginning of Judas Maccabæus' government to this time,^u one hundred and twenty-nine years, and with it I shall end this book.

q Joseph. de Bello Judaico, *ibid*.

r Antigonus is the masculine name, Antigona the feminine; the former is proper to men, the other to women.

s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 1; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 13.

t *Ibid*. and Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 405.

u Whereas Josephus, (in his Antiquities, book 14, chap. 28,) saith, it lasted only one hundred and twenty-six years, this is to be computed from the time that Judas was established in the government by his peace with Antiochus Eupator, three years after he first took it upon him.

THE
Old and New Testaments

CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK VIII.

ON the taking of Jerusalem, Herod was put in thorough possession of the kingdom of Judea. But^a the greater part of the Jews, as long as Antigonus was alive, partly out of the affection they had for the old royal family of the Asmoneons, and partly out of their hatred to Herod, could not be induced by any means to own him for their king, which conduced much to the hastening on the death of that captive prince. As Herod was forced to make his way to the throne of this kingdom through a great deal of blood,^b so he found it necessary to establish himself in it by the same means, putting daily to death such of the opposite faction as he most feared,^c among whom were all the counsellors of the great sanhedrim, except Pollio and Sameas. These two had,^c during the whole siege, declared for the receiving of Herod to be king, and the rendering of the city to him, telling the people, that their sins being grown to so very great a height as they then were, they had nothing else to expect, but that God would deliver them into the hands of this man for the punishment of them, and that therefore it was in vain for them to resist him. But the rest of the sanhedrim, running violently the other way,^d cried up, *The tem-*

a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 1.

b Joseph. ibid; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 13.

c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 17; lib. 15, c. 1.

d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 28.

ple of the Lord! The temple of the Lord! as if, for the sake thereof, God would certainly protect that city; and on this conceit they did all they could to excite and encourage the people to a fierce and obstinate resistance; and hereto it was owing that the siege held on so long. And therefore Herod, when he had gotten them into his power, put them all to death for it. To this he is also said to have been provoked by another reason, that is, for their having called him before them upon a trial for his life for the death of Hezekiah the robber, when he was governour of Galilee under Hyrcanus; of which mention hath been above made. But, if that influenced him in this matter, he would not have spared Sameas, who was of all the most violent against him in that cause. These two men are by the Jewish writers called Hillel and Shammai; and their names^e are of the greatest note among them of all their Mishnical doctors, that is, of all those who taught their traditions, from the time of Simon the Just, to the compiling of the Mishna by R. Judah Hakkadosh; and they make the sixth link in their cabbalistical chain from the said Simon; for he^f (they said) delivered their traditions to (1,) Antigonus of Socho; Antigonus of Socho delivered them to (2,) Joses Ben Joezer and Joseph Ben Jochanan; these to (3,) Joshua Ben Perachia and Nathan the Arbelite; these to (4,) Simon Ben Shetach and Jehua Ben Tabbai; these to (5,) Shemaiah and Abtalion; and these to (6,) Hillel and Shammai. Of these pairs, the first in each of them was Nasi,^g that is, president of the great sanhedrim, and the other Ab Beth Din,^g that is, vice-president of the same; and both of them were, while in these offices, the chief teachers in their schools of divinity. The Jewish writers ascribe to Shemaiah and Abtalion only six years, but to their immediate predecessors,^h a full hundred, and one

^e Juchasin, Shalsheleth Haccabbala, Zemach David.

^f Pirke Aboth, c. 1. Maimonides in Prefatione ad Seder Zeraim, & in Prefatione ad Yad. Chazekah, Aberbanel, alique e Rabbinis.

^g Nasi in Hebrew signifieth prince, and Ab Beth Din, father of the house of judgment.

^h The Jewish chronologers tell us, that these two persons entered on their offices in the year of the world, according to the Jewish computation,

over, which gives that link in the chain of their traditional succession a stretch beyond credibility. Shemaiah and Abtalionⁱ are said to have been both proselytes, and sons of the same father, by whom they derived their descent from Sennacherib, king of Assyria: but they had for their mother a woman of Israel, otherwise they could not have been members of the great sanhedrim,^k or have held any place of judicature in the Jewish nation. Herod at this time putting to death all the members of the great sanhedrim, excepting Hillel and Shammai, it is not to be doubted, but that these two, Shemaiah and Abtalion, perished in that slaughter; after whose death Hillel was made president, and Shammai vice-president, of the sanhedrim that was afterwards formed.

This Hillel, whom Josephus calls Pollio,^l was one of the eminentest that ever was among the Jewish doctors, for birth, learning, rule, and posterity. For, as to his birth,^m he was by his mother of the seed of David, being by her descended from Shephatiah, the son of Abital, David's wife. For his learning in the Jewish law and traditions, the Jewish writers, by an unanimous suffrage, give him the first place of eminency among all the ancient doctors of their nation. As for rule, he bore it in the highest station of honour among his people for forty years together; for so long, as president of the sanhedrim, he sat in the first chair of justice over the whole Jewish nation, and discharged himself therein with greater wisdom and justice than any that had, from the time of Simon the Just, possessed that place before him. And, as for his posterity, he was so happy therein, that, for several

three thousand six hundred and twenty-one, and that Shemaiah and Abtalion did not succeed them till the year three thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, between which intervened one hundred and one years.

ⁱ Zacutus in Juchasin, & David Ganz in Zemach David.

^k Maimonides in Tract. Sanhedrim.

^l Josephus joins Pollio with Shammai, and makes him to be Shammai's master, and Hillel was so according to the Rabbins; and therefore undoubtedly the Pollio of Josephus and the Hillel of the Rabbins was the same person.

^m Zacutus in Juchasin, Gedaliah in Shalsheth Haccabbala, and David Ganz in Zemach David. Videas etiam Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum. col. 617. & de Abbreviaturis, p. 48, 58; Vorstii Observationes ad Zemach David, and Lightfoot's Harmony of the New Testament, part 1, sect. 8.

descents, they succeeded him in the same eminency of learning, and thereby gained also for several descents to succeed him in the same station of honour; for those of his family were presidents of the sanhedrim, from father to son, to the tenth generation. For after him succeeded Simeon his son, who is supposed to have been the same who took Christ in his arms, on his being first presented in the temple,ⁿ and then to have sung over him his *nunc dimittas*. After Simeon succeeded Gamaliel his son, who presided in the sanhedrim at the time when Peter and the apostles were called before that council (Acts v, 34,) and was the same at whose feet Paul was bred up in the sect and learning of the Pharisees (Acts xxii, 3.) He^o is called in the Jewish writings Gamaliel the Old, because of his long life; for he lived down to the eighteenth year before the destruction of Jerusalem. After him succeeded Simeon his son, the second of that name in this line, who perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. The next successor after him was Gamaliel his son, the second of that name. To him succeeded Simeon his son, the third of that name. After him was R. Judah Hakkadosh, his son, who composed the Mishna, and on that account his name hath ever since been had in great veneration among all of the Jewish nation. His son and successor in the same office was Gamaliel, the third of that name; and after him his son Judah Gemaricus; and after him his son Hillel the Second, who was compiler of the present calendar of the Jewish year. How long after him this office continued in that family is not said. And no doubt it was with respect to the family of David that Hillel had this honour so long continued among his posterity. But he was descended from it only by his mother's side; for, by his father, he was of the tribe of Benjamin. He was born in Babylonia,^o and there lived till the fortieth year of his life; at which age he came to Jerusalem, and there betook himself to the study of the law; in which he grew so eminent, that, after forty

ⁿ Luke ii.

^o Zacutus, Gedalia, et David Ganz in Zemach David, &c.

years more, he became president of the sanhedrim, being then eighty years old, and continued in that office for another forty years; so that, according to this account, he lived full one hundred and twenty years. The time the first entered on his presidentship was about one hundred years before the destruction of Jerusalem. The Jewish writers make it a complete hundred years. But those people are far from being exact in their chronological computations; for the sake of a round number, or an imaginary mystery, they often in such matters shoot under or over the truth at their pleasure. He is said on his first entering on this office, to have for his vice-president one Manahem, a learned man of those times; but, he not long after deserting this station to enter into the service of Herod, Shammai was chosen in his place. And what we have in Josephus agreeth herewith; for he makes mention of a Manahem,^p that was a person of eminent note in those times; of whom he tells us, that, being of the sect of the Essenes, he had the spirit of prophecy; and one time meeting with Herod among his school-fellows, when he was a boy, greeted him with this salutation, *Hail, king of the Jews*; and, laying his hand gently on his shoulder, foretold to him, that he should be advanced to that honour. Herod for many years had no regard to this prediction, it being a thing he had no expectation of. But afterwards, when he came to be king, remembering the matter, he sent for Manahem, and was very solicitous to know of him how long he should reign, concluding, that he that foretold that he should be king, could also foretel how long he should be so. Manahem at first not returning him a certain answer, Herod put it to him, whether he should reign ten years; Manahem answered, Yea ten, yea twenty, yea thirty; with which Herod being contented, asked no further; but from this time had Manahem in great esteem, and, no doubt, on this occasion drew him into his service; and thereon Shammai was appointed to be vice-president in his room.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 13.

This Shammai^q had been for some time the scholar of Hillel, and came the nearest to him in eminency of learning of all the Tannaim or Mishnical doctors. But, when he became his vice-president, he did not always concur in opinion with him; for there were many points wherein they differed, which caused the like contests and disputes between their followers, as there are between the Thomists and Scotists among the schoolmen. For in a great many things^r the school of Hillel went one way, and the school of Shammai another. This produced such divisions and quarrels between their scholars, that at length it came to the effusion of blood, and several were slain on both sides. But, in the conclusion, the school of Hillel carried it against the school of Shammai; a determination being given for the former, they say, by a *Bath Kol*, that is, by a voice pretended to come from heaven; and by this fiction all disturbances between them were appeased. Hillel was of a mild and peaceable temper; but Shammai, on the contrary, was of a very angry and fiery spirit; and from hence proceeded most of the oppositions and disputes that were between the schools of these two great doctors; of which Shammai growing at length weary, was contented to have them all ended by the fiction I have mentioned.

Hillel^s bred up above one thousand scholars in the knowledge of the law, of which eighty were reckoned to be of greater eminency above the rest. For of them, say the Jewish writers, thirty were worthy on whom the divine glory should rest, as it did upon Moses; and thirty for whom the sun should stand still, as it did for Joshua; and the twenty others were of a middling size. The eminentest of them all was Jona-

^q Videas Zacutum, Gedaliam, Davidem Ganz, & Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabinicum, col. 617. & de Abbreviaturis, p. 48, 58; Vorstii Observationes ad Zemach David, and Lightfoot's Harmony of the New Testament, part 1, sect. 8. & Drusium de tribus Sectis, lib. 2, c. 10.

^r Of this division made among the Pharisaical Jews by the different schools of Hillel and Shammai, Jerome speaks in his Commentary on Isaiah viii, 14, and he there tells us, that these two men flourished in Judea not long before Christ was born. His words are, *Sammai & Hillel non multo prius quam Dominus nosceretur orti sunt in Judea.*

^s Zacutus, Gedalias, & David Ganz, *ibid.*

than Ben Uzziel, the author of the Chaldee paraphrase upon the prophets ; with whom was contemporary Onkelos, who was author of the Chaldee paraphrase upon the law. But whether he was a scholar of Hillel's or no, is not said. There are other Chaldee paraphrases besides these two ; but what, or how many they were, or for what use they served, not being as yet any where mentioned in this work, it is proper I here give the reader an account of them.

The Chaldee paraphrases are translations of the Scriptures of the Old Testament made directly from the Hebrew text into the language of the Chaldeans ; which language was anciently used through all Assyria, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine ; and is still the language of the churches of the Nestorian and Maronite Christians in those eastern parts, in the same manner as the Latin is the language of the popish churches here in the west. And therefore these paraphrases were called Targums,^t because they were versions or translations of the Hebrew text into this language ; for the word targum signifieth, in Chaldee, an interpretation or version of one language into another, and may properly be said of any such version or translation : but it is most commonly by the Jews appropriated to these Chaldee paraphrases ; for being among them what were most eminently such, they therefore had this name by way of eminency especially given unto them.

These targums were made for the use and instruction of the vulgar Jews after their return from the Babylonish captivity ; for, although many of the better sort still retained the knowledge of the Hebrew language during that captivity, and taught it their children, and the holy Scriptures that were delivered after that time,^u excepting only some parts of Daniel and Ezra, and one verse in Jeremiah, were all written

^t Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, col. 2644.

^u The book of Daniel is written in Chaldee from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the end of the seventh chapter, and the book of Ezra from the eight verse of the fourth chapter to the twenty-seventh verse of the seventh chapter. In the book of Jeremiah the eleventh verse of the tenth chapter is only written in that language, all the rest of it is in Hebrew.

therein; yet the common people, by having so long conversed with the Babylonians, learned their language, and forgot their own. It happened indeed otherwise to the children of Israel in Egypt: for, although they lived there above three times as long as the Babylonish captivity lasted, yet they still preserved the Hebrew language among them, and brought it back entire with them into Canaan. The reason of this was, in Egypt they all lived together in the land of Goshen; but, on their being carried captive by the Babylonians, they were dispersed all over Chaldea and Assyria, and, being there intermixed with the people of the land, had their main converse with them, and therefore were forced to learn their language; and this soon induced a disuse of their own among them; by which means it came to pass, that, after their return, the common people, especially those of them who had been bred up in that captivity, understood not the holy Scriptures in the Hebrew language, nor their posterity after them. And therefore, when Ezra read the law to the people,^x he had several persons standing by him well skilled in both the Chaldee and Hebrew languages, who interpreted to the people in Chaldee what he first read to them in Hebrew. And afterwards, when the method was established of dividing the law into fifty-four sections, and of reading one of them every week in their synagogues (according as hath been already described) the same course of reading to the people the Hebrew text first, and then interpreting it to them in Chaldee, was still continued. For, when the reader had read one verse in Hebrew, an interpreter standing by did render it into Chaldee; and then the next verse being read in Hebrew, it was in like manner interpreted in the same language as before; and so on from verse to verse was every verse alternatively read first in the Hebrew, and then interpreted in Chaldee to the end of the section; and this first gave occasion for the making of Chaldee

u The book of Daniel is written in Chaldee from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the end of the seventh chapter, and the book of Ezra from the eighth verse of the fourth chapter to the twenty-seventh verse of the seventh chapter. In the book of Jeremiah the eleventh verse of the tenth chapter is only written in that language, all the rest of it is in Hebrew.

x Nehemiah viii, 4—8.

versions for the help of these interpreters. And they thenceforth became necessary not only for their help in the public synagogues, but also for the help of the people at home in their families, that they might there have the Scriptures for their private reading in a language which they understood.

For, first, as synagogues multiplied among the Jews beyond the number of able interpreters, it became necessary that such versions should be made for the help of the less able. This was done at first only for the law, because at first the law only was publicly read in their synagogues, till the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes; but, after that time, lessons being read out of the prophets in those religious assemblies, as well as out of the law, the same reason rendered it necessary, that Chaldee versions should be made of these Scriptures also. And, second, the use of the people (which was the other reason for the composing of those versions) made this necessary for all the Scripture, as well as for the law and the prophets. For all Scripture being given for our edification, all ought for this end to have them in a language which they understood. For when God gave his law unto Israel, he enjoined,^y that they should have his commandments, statutes, and judgments, always in their hearts, that they should meditate on them day and night, teach them their children, and talk of them, when they did sit in their houses, and when they walked by the way, and when they lay down, and when they rose up; and that all might be the better enabled to perform all this, it was strictly enjoined, by a constitution of the elders from ancient times,^z that every man should have by him at his home a copy of the holy Scriptures, fairly written out either by his own, or if he could not write himself, by some other hand, for his instruction herein. But how could this be done, if they had those Scriptures only in a language which they did not understand? It was necessary, therefore, that, as they had the Hebrew text for the sake of the original, so also that they should have the Chaldee version for the sake of helping them

^y Deuteronomy vi, 6—9; xi, 18—20.

^z Maimonides in Tephillah, c. 7.

to understand it. Indeed the letter of the law which commands what I have here mentioned extends no further than to the five books of Moses; for no more of the holy Scriptures were then written when that law was given; and also the constitution abovementioned, which was superadded by the elders, is by positive words limited thereto. But the reason of the thing reacheth the whole word of God. For since all of it is given for our instruction, we are all equally obliged to know each part of it as well as the other; and therefore this caused, that at length the whole Scriptures were thus translated from the Hebrew into the Chaldean language, for the sake of those who could not otherwise understand them. For, to lock up from the people in an unknown language that word of God, which was given to lead them to everlasting life, was a thing that was not thought agreeable either with reason or piety in those times.

This work having been attempted by divers persons at different times, and by some of them with different views (for some of them were written as versions for the public use of the synagogues, and others as paraphrases and commentaries for the private instruction of the people,) hence it hath come to pass, that there were anciently many of these targums, and of different sorts, in the same manner as there anciently were many different versions of the same holy Scriptures into the Greek language, made with like different views; of which we have sufficient proof in the Octapla of Origen. No doubt, anciently there were many more of these targums than we now know of, which have been lost in the length of time. Whether there were any of them of the same composure on the whole Scriptures is not any where said. Those that are now remaining were composed by different persons, and on different parts of Scripture, some on one part, and others on other parts; and are, in all, of these eight sorts following: 1. That of Onkelos on the five books of Moses; 2. That of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the prophets, that is, on Joshua, Judges, the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets; 3. That on

the law, which is ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel; 4. The Jerusalem targum on the law; 5. The targum on the five lesser books, called the Megilloth, that is, Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah; 6. The second targum on Esther; 7. The targum of Joseph,^a the one-eyed, on the book of Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs; and, 8. The targum on the first and second book of Chronicles. On Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel, there is no targum at all. The reason given by some for this is, because a great part of those books is written in the Chaldee language, and therefore there is no need of a Chaldee paraphrase upon them. This indeed is true for Daniel and Ezra, but not for Nehemiah; for that book is all originally written in the Hebrew language. No doubt, anciently there were Chaldee paraphrases on all the Hebrew parts of those books, though now lost. It was long supposed that there were no targums on the two books of Chronicles, because none such were known, till they were lately published by Beckius,^b at Augsburg in Germany, that on the first book A. D. 1680, and that on the second in 1683.

As the targum of Onkelos is the first in order of place, as being on the Pentateuch, which is the first part of the holy Scriptures; so I think it is not to be doubted, but that it is the first also in order of time, and the ancientest that was written of all that are now extant. The Jewish writers,^c though they allow him to have been, for some time of his life, contemporary with Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the author of the second targum abovementioned, yet make him much the younger of the two: for they tell us that Jonathan was one of the prime scholars of Hillel, who died about the time when our Saviour was born; but that Onkelos survived Gamaliel the elder, Paul's master

^a He is commonly called Josephus Cæcus, or Josephus the blind. This is not to be understood, as if he were blind of both eyes, for then he could not have done this work. The word in Hebrew, by which he is so denominated, signifieth *Luscum*, one that is blind of one eye, as well as *Cæcum*, one that is blind of both eyes.

^b Leusden in *Philologo Hebræo-mixto*, dissertatione 5, sect. 5.

^c Zacutus in *Juchasin*. Gedaliah in *Shalsheth Haccabbala*. David Ganz in *Zemach David*, aliique.

(who was the grandson of Hillel, and died not till eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem;) for they relate that Onkelos assisted at the funeral of this Gamaliel, and provided for it seventy pounds of frankincense at his own charge. But there are several reasons which prevail with me to think Onkelos the ancients of the two; the chief and principallest of them, is the style in which his targum is written. That part of Daniel and Ezra which is in Chaldee is the truest standard whereby to try the purity of the Chaldee language. For this language, as well as all others, being in a constant flux, and in every age deviating from what it was in the former, it follows from hence, that the further any Chaldee writing doth in its style differ from that ancient standard, the later certainly it is; and the nearer it comes to it, we may as certainly conclude, the ancients it is. But, no Chaldee writing now extant coming nearer to the style of what is written in that language by Daniel and Ezra, than the targum of Onkelos, this, to me, proves that targum of all others to be the most ancient. And I can see no other reason, why Jonathan Ben Uzziel, when he undertook to compose his targum, should pass over the law, and begin with the prophets, but that he found Onkelos had done this work before him, and with that success in the performance which he could not exceed. This targum of Onkelos is rather a version than a paraphrase: for it renders the Hebrew text word for word, and for the most part accurately and exactly; and it is by much the best of all this sort: and therefore it hath always been had in esteem among the Jews much above all the other targums; and being set to the same musical notes with the Hebrew text, it is thereby made capable of being read in the same tone with it in their public assemblies. And that it was accordingly there read alternatively with the text in the manner as is above described, Elias Levita^d tells

^d In Methurgeman, i. e. Lexico Chaldaico, sic dicto verba ejus in praefatione ad illud Lexicon sunt haec sequentia. Antequam inveniretur ars typographica, non extabant targum prophetarum et hagiographorum, nisi vel unum in provincia, vel ad summum duo in universo climate: propterea nec quisquam erat qui ea curaret. At targum Onkelosi semper repertum est

us, who, of all the Jews that have handled this argument, hath written the most accurately and fully of it; for he saith, "That the Jews holding themselves obliged every week, in their synagogues, to read twice that Parashah, or section of the law, which was the lesson of the week (that is, in the Hebrew original first, and then in the Chaldee interpretation after it,) made use of the targum of Onkelos for this purpose; and that this was their usage even down to his time (which was^e about the first part of the sixteenth century.) And, that for this reason, though, till the art of printing was invented, there were of the other targums scarce above one or two of a sort to be found in a whole country; yet then the targum of Onkelos was every where among them." Some say this Onkelos was a proselyte, and hold him to have been the same with Akilas, another proselyte, who is quoted in Berishith Rabba,^f to have written a targum; and others, that he was the same with Aquila of Pontus, who composed one of the Greek versions of the holy Scripture, which was in Origen's Octapla, as if the Akilas mentioned in Berishith Rabba, and Aquila of Pontus, were two distinct persons. For the setting of all this at rights, it is to be observed, 1. That the Akilas, whose targum is quoted in Berishith Rabba, and elsewhere from it by the Rabbins, can be none other than Aquila of Pontus; for the name is the same, 'Ακύλας in Greek, and Akilas in Hebrew: the time in which they are said to live, is also the same, that is, about the year of Christ 130; and both are said to be proselytes; and these three characters joined together, sufficiently prove them to be both the same person. 2. That this Akilas could not be Onkelos: for not only the names are different, and the times in which they lived different, but also the targums which they are said to have written; for Onkelos wrote on the law, but the targum of Akilas, which is quoted in Berishith

^affatim, et hoc ideo, quia nos obligati sumus, ut legamus quavis septimana Parasham bis, i. e. semel in textu Hebræo, et semel in targum.

^e Some of his books were published anno 1517, and some anno 1539.

^f Berishith Rabba is an old Rabbinical commentary on the book of Genesis.

Rabba, is on the prophets and the hagiographa. 3. That the targum of Akilas quoted by the author of Berishith Rabba, and other Rabbins from him, is not a Chaldee targum, but the Greek version or targum made by Aquila of Pontus; for although the word targum be restrained by its most common use among the Jews to the Chaldee versions of the Hebrew Scriptures; yet, in its general signification, it takes in any translation from one language to another, whatsoever those languages may be; and that, therefore, there never was any such Chaldee targum, as is supposed to be quoted by the author of Bereshith Rabba, or any such person as Akilas a proselyte, distinct from Aquila of Pontus, to be the author of it; but that the targum so quoted was the Greek targum, or Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures made by the said Aquila of Pontus, of which I have above given a full account.

4. That the representing of Onkelos to have been a proselyte, seems to have proceeded from the error of taking him to have been the same with Aquila of Pontus, who was indeed a Jewish proselyte: for, having, from being a heathen, embraced the Christian religion, he apostatized from it to the Jews. The excellency and accuracy of Onkelos' targum, sufficiently prove him to have been a native Jew; for, without having been bred up from his birth in the Jewish religion and learning, and long exercised in all the rites and doctrines thereof, and being also thoroughly skilled in both the Hebrew and Chaldee languages, as far as a native Jew could be, he can scarce be thought thoroughly adequate to that work which he performed.

The next targum to that of Onkelos, is the targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the prophets; which is next it also in the purity of its style, but is not like it in the manner of its composure. For, whereas the targum of Onkelos is a strict version, rendering the Hebrew text word for word, Jonathan takes on him the liberty of a paraphrast, by enlargements and additions to the text: for therein are inserted several stories, and also several glosses of his own, which do not much commend the work; and more of this is to be found in that part which is on the later prophets, than

in that which is on the former; for in that latter part he is more lax and paraphrastical, and less accurate and clear than in the other. The books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, are called the former prophets, and the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, the latter. The Jews speak highly of this Jonathan: ^g for they do not only give him the first place of eminency among all the disciples of Hillel, but equal him even to Moses himself, and tell many miraculous things of him, which, they say, happened while he was employed in this work: as, that nothing was permitted to give him any disturbance herein: that, if any bird happened to flee over him, or any fly to light upon his paper, while he was writing this targum, they were immediately burned up by fire from heaven, without any hurt done either to his person or his paper. And they tell us also, that, on his attempting to write a targum upon the hagiographa, after his having finished that on the law, he was hindered by a voice from heaven, which forbade him to proceed in that work, giving this reason for it, because therein (that is, in the hagiographa) was contained the end of the Messiah; which some Christians laying hold of against the Jews, by interpreting it of the death of Christ predicted in the prophecies of Daniel (which they place among the hagiographa,) ^h some of the latter Jews have taken upon them to alter that passage, for fear this fabulous story should hurt their cause. Many other fables the Jewish writers tell us of this Jonathan and his targum, which I think not proper to trouble the reader with.

The third targum in the order abovementioned is that on the law, which is ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel. But that it is none of his is sufficiently proved by the style, which is wholly different from that wherein is written the true targum of Jonathan (that upon

^g Zacutus in Juchasin. Gedaliah in Shalsheth Haccabbala. David Ganz in Zemach David. Talmud in Bava Bathra, c. 8. in Succa, et in Megilla. Videas etiam Buxtorfium de Abbreviaturis, p. 104, 105, et in Prefatione ad Lexicon Chaldaicum. Shickardum in Bechinath Happerushim, aliosque.

^h That the Jews allow not Daniel a place among the prophets, and for what reason, hath been above shown, part 1, book 3, under the year 534.

the prophets, which all allow to have been his,) as will thoroughly appear to all such as shall thoroughly compare them together; and, besides, its enlargements in the paraphrastical way, by glosses, fables, prolix explications, and other additions, are much beyond what we find practised by Jonathan in that targum which is truly his. But that which thoroughly cuts the throat of this pretence is, that there are several things mentioned in this targum which had no being, or at least no name, till after Jonathan's time: for therein is mention madeⁱ of the six orders or books of the Mishna; but they could have no being till the Mishna was made by R. Judah, near two hundred years after Jonathan's time; and therein we also find mention made of Constantinople^k and Lombardy;^l whereas there was no such city as Constantinople, nor any country called by the name of Lombardy, till several hundred years after the time wherein Jonathan flourished. Who was the true author of this targum, or when it was composed, is utterly unknown. It seems long to have lain in obscurity among the Jews themselves: for Elias Levita, who wrote most fully of the Chaldee paraphrases, knew nothing of this paraphrase; for he says nothing of it, though he tells us of all the rest; neither was it taken notice of, till first published in print at Venice about one hundred and fifty years since; and the name of Jonathan, it is probable, was for no other reason then put to it, but to give it the more credit, and the better recommend it by that specious title to the buyer. Most of those prophecies which are in the Pentateuch concerning the Messiah being in this targum interpreted in the Christian way, some Christians for this reason would maintain it to be the genuine work of the author whose name it bears; and, to make this out, assert it to be as ancient as that author, and that therefore it might, according to its title, be truly his: and their argument for it is, that it is quoted by St. Paul, and that therefore it must be composed before his time, and the age before his time was that in which

ⁱ Exod. xxvi, 9.^k Num. xxiv, 19.^l Num. xxiv, 24.

Jonathan Ben Uzziel lived. For whereas St. Paul, in his second epistle to Timothy, (chap. iii, 8,) makes mention of Jannes and Jambres, as the names of those Egyptian magicians who withstood Moses in the presence of Pharaoh (Exodus vii, 2,) they would have it believed, that Paul had those names from this targum on the law which is ascribed to Jonathan; and that therefore it was composed before Paul wrote that epistle to Timothy. It is true, the names of Jannes and Jambres are twice made mention of in this targum (Exodus i, 15; vii, 2,) but it doth not follow, that St. Paul had them from this targum, and that therefore the author of this targum was ancients than St. Paul, any more than it doth, that he had them from Pliny or Numenius, and that therefore these two heathen philosophers were, contrary to all the faith of history, ancients than this apostle; for both these authors make mention of those Egyptian magicians in the time of Moses, with this only variation, that, instead of Jannes and Jambres, Pliny writes their names Jamnes and Jotapes. The true answer hereto is, that, as the sacred penmen of the New Testament make mention of several things which they had only from the current traditions of the times in which they lived, so this of Jannes and Jambres was of that sort. These names, either by oral tradition, or rather by some written records of history, being preserved among the Jews, Paul from thence had them. And an account of these persons having been by the said names propagated by the Jews to the heathen, among whom they were dispersed, it came this way to the knowledge of Pliny and Numenius; the first of which lived in the first century after Christ, and the other in the beginning of the third. They that would know what were the traditions of the Jews concerning these two magicians may consult Buxtorf's Rabbinical Lexicon, p. 945, 946, 947; for there they will find a full account of all that is said of them in the Talmud, and other rabbinical writings; which being long, and wholly fabulous, I avoid here troubling the reader with it.

The fourth targum is on the law, written by an unknown hand; for no one pretends to tell us who the author of it was, or when it was composed. It is called the Jerusalem Targum; and seems to have that name for the same reason for which the Jerusalem Talmud is so called, that is, because it is written in the Jerusalem dialect. For there were^m three different dialects of the Chaldean or Assyrian language. The first was that which was spoken at Babylon, the metropolis of the Assyrian empire; an example of which in its greatest purity we have in Daniel and Ezra; and the style of the Babylonish Gemara may be reckoned its highest corruption. The second dialect of this language was the Commagenian, or Antiochian, which was spoken in Commagena, Antioch, and the rest of Syria; and in this dialect were written the versions of the holy Scriptures and the liturgies which were in use among the Syrian and Assyrian Christians, and are still used by them, especially by the Maronites, a people inhabiting Mount Libanus, where the Syriac still lives among them as a vulgar language. The third dialect was the Jerusalem dialect, that which was spoken by the Jews after their return from Babylon. The Babylonian and Jerusalem dialects were written in the same character; but the Antiochian in a different, that which we call the Syriac. And for the sake of this different character is that dialect reckoned a different language, which we call the Syriac;ⁿ whereas in truth the Syriac and the Chaldee are one and the same language in different characters, and differing a little only in dialect. As all these three dialects were made by so many several degeneracies from the old Assyrian language which was anciently spoken in Nineveh and Babylon, so they all with time degenerated from what they at first were. The purest style which we have of the Jerusalem dialect is in the targums, first of Onkelos on the law, and next of Jonathan on the prophets; for in them the

^m Videas Waltoni Prolegom. 13. ad Biblia Polyglot. et Georgii Amyræ Prælod. Gram. Syr.

ⁿ Videas Præfationem Ludovici de Dieu ad Grammaticam linguarum Orientalium.

Chaldee is without any mixture of words from any other language, saving from the Hebrew only. This mixture of the Hebrew words with the Chaldee was that only which first made the Jerusalem dialect to differ from the Babylonian: for though the Jews, on their return from Babylon, brought back with them the Chaldee language, and made it their vulgar tongue, yet the Hebrew was still the language of the church, and the language of those that were bred up in learning for its service; and therefore many of its words crept into the Chaldee which was vulgarly spoken by them; and this mixture constituted the Jerusalem dialect of the Chaldee tongue; and, as long as it continued with this mixture only, it was the Jerusalem dialect in its best purity. But, in process of time, the mixture of the Jews with other nations, especially after our Saviour's time, brought in the mixture of many exotic words from the Latin, Greek, Arabian, Persian, and other languages, and thereby so far corrupted their former speech, that it made it almost another language. And a view of this corrupt state of it we have in the Jerusalem Talmud, the Jerusalem Targum, and in all the other targums, excepting those of Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets. For all these are written in this corrupt style of the Jerusalem dialect; and those targums are much more so than the Jerusalem Talmud, which proves them all (except the two above excepted) to have been written after that Talmud. This Jerusalem Targum is not a continued paraphrase, as all the rest are, but only upon some parts here and there, as the author thought the text most wanted an explication; for sometimes it is only upon one verse, and at other times it is only upon a piece of a verse, and sometimes upon several verses together, and sometimes it skips over whole chapters. In many places it writes word for word from the targum said to be Jonathan's on the law, which made Drusius^o think they were both the same. There are several things in this Jerusalem Targum which are in the same words delivered in the

^o Ad difficilia loca, Num. c. 25.

New Testament by Christ and his apostles; as, for example, (Luke vi, 38,) Christ saith, *With the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again*; the same is in this targum, Gen. xxxviii, 26. In the Revelation (xx, 6, 14,) there is mention of the *first and second death*; the same distinction is in this targum, Deut. xxxiii, 6. In the Revelation (v, 10,) the saints are said to be *made unto our God, kings and priests*; the same is said in this targum, Exod. xix, 6. In the Gospel of St. Matthew (vi, 9,) our Saviour teacheth us to say, *Our Father which art in heaven*; the same expression is in this targum, Deut. xxii, 6. Hence some would infer the antiquity of this targum, as if it had been written before our Saviour's time, and that he and his apostles had these and other like expressions from it; and others will have it, that the author of this targum had them from the New Testament. But neither of these seems likely; not the first, because the style of this targum being more impure and corrupt than that of the Jerusalem Talmud, this proves it to have been composed after that Talmud, which had no being till about three hundred years after Christ; and not the second, because the Jews had that detestation of all contained in the New Testament, that we may be well assured, they would borrow nothing from thence. The truth of the matter most probably is, these were sayings and phraseologies which had obtained among the Jews in our Saviour's time, and continued among them long after; and hence our Saviour and his apostles, and afterwards the author of this targum, had them, as from the same fountain.

The fifth targum, which is that on the Megilloth; the sixth, which is the second targum on Esther; and the seventh, which is that on Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs, are all written in the corruptest Chaldee of the Jerusalem dialect. Of the two former no author is named: but the author of the third they say was Joseph the one-eyed; but who this Joseph was, or when he lived, is not said; and some of them ^p tell us the

author of this targum is as much unknown as of the other two. The second targum on Esther is twice as large as the first, and seems to have been written the last of all those targums, by reason of the barbarity of its style. That on the Megilloth (part of which is the first targum on Esther) makes mention of the ^q Mishna and the Talmud with the explication; if thereby be meant the Babylonish Talmud, as undoubtedly it is, this targum must have been written after that Talmud, that is, after the year of Christ 500; for this is the earliest time which is assigned for the composure of the Babylonish Talmud.

The eighth and last of these targums in the order I have abovementioned them, is that on the two books of the Chronicles, which is the last that hath been published; for it was not known of till the year 1680, ^r when Beckius, from an old manuscript, first published at Augsberg, in Germany, that part of it which is on the first book; and three years after he published at the same place the other part also, that which is on the second book. Till then all that have written of the Chaldee paraphrases have given us to understand, as if there had never been any targum at all written upon these books. But only Walton^s tells us, that he had heard, that there was in the public library in Cambridge, a manuscript targum on the Chronicles, but had no notice of it till his Polygot was finished; and therefore never examined it. I find there is ^t in that library among Erpenius' books bought by the duke of Buckingham, and given to that university, a manuscript Hebrew Bible in three volumes, which hath a Chaldee targum on the Chronicles as far as the sixth verse of the twenty-second chapter of the first book. But it is no continued targum; for it contains no more than some short glosses added here and there in the margin. This manuscript was written in the year of Christ 1347, as appears by a note at the end of it; but when, or by

^q Cant. i, 2.

^r Leusdeni Philologus Mixtus, dissertatione 5, sec. 5.

^s Prolegom. ad Biblia Polyglotta, c. 12, sec. 15.

^t Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ, tom. 1, part 3, p. 174, No. 2484.

whom, the marginal Chaldee gloss therein was composed, is not said.

That the targums of Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets, are as ancient as our Saviour's time, if not ancients, is the general opinion of both Jews and Christians. The Jewish historians positively say it; ^u for they tell us, that Jonathan was the most eminent of all the scholars of Hillel, ^x who died about the time that our Saviour was born; and that Onkelos was contemporary with Gamaliel the elder (the same that was St. Paul's master,) as is abovementioned. For although the Jewish writers are very wretched historians, and often give us gross fables, instead of true narratives, yet, whenever they do so, there is either something internal in the matter related, or else external to it from other evidences, that convict them of the falsity; but where there is nothing of this, the testimony of the historian is to stand good in that which he relates of the affairs of his own country or people. And therefore there being nothing concerning these two targums, which can be alleged either from what is contained in them, or from any external evidence to contradict what the Jewish historians tell us of their antiquity, I reckon their testimony is to stand good concerning this matter. And this testimony is strongly corroborated by the style in which they are penned: for it being the purest, and the best of all that is written in the Jerusalem dialect, and without the mixture of those many exotic words, which the Jews of Jerusalem and Judea afterwards took into it from the Greek, Latin, and other languages, this proves them to have been written before those Jews had that common converse with those nations from whom these words were borrowed, and especially before Jerusalem and Judea were made a province of the Roman empire. For although the Jews of the dispersions had long before conversed with those nations, and learned their languages, yet this did not effect the Jews of Jerusalem and Judea; but they still retained their vulgar tongue

^u Zacutus, Gedalias, David Ganz, Abraham Levita, aliique.

^x It is generally said of Hillel by the Jewish writers, that he entered on his presidentship of the great sanhedrim about one hundred years before the destruction of Jerusalem.

in the same dialect in which it had been formed after their return from Babylon, till Pompey had subjected them to the Roman yoke; but after that, Greeks, Romans, and Italians, and other subjects of the Roman empire, either as soldiers or civil officers, or on other occasions, coming into that country, and there mixing themselves among them, from that time they first began to borrow from them those words which corrupted their language. And therefore since these targums of Onkelos and Jonathan are the clearest of this corruption of all that we have in the Jerusalem dialect, this may assuredly convince us, that they were written before this corruption had obtained any prevalency among that people. And for this reason I reckon them both to have been composed before our Saviour's time, and the targum of Onkelos to be the ancients of the two, because it is the purer, though the other comes very little behind it herein, which evidently shews it to have been written very soon after it. The Jews speak very magnificent things of Jonathan, but say little of Onkelos; though they manifestly prefer the targum of Onkelos before that of the other, as indeed it deserves they should, it being by much the more exact of the two; the reason of this is, they all hold Jonathan to have been a natural Jew; but the general vogue among them being, that Onkelos was a proselyte, and sister's son to Titus, who destroyed Jerusalem; for both these reasons, though both are gross mistakes, they have lesser regard to his memory than to that of the other, though they have the greater for his work.

The only thing that can be alleged against the antiquity of these two targums, is, that neither Origen, nor Epiphanius, nor Jerome, nor any of the ancient fathers of the Christian church, make any mention of them. These three which I have named, were well skilled in the Jewish learning; and therefore it is thought they could not have avoided taking some notice of them, had they been extant in their time; especially not Jerome, who lived in Judea a great part of his life, and there conversed with the learnedest rabbies of that sect, and was very inquisitive after all that was to be learned from them for his better under-

standing of the Hebrew Scriptures; and yet in all his writings we find no mention of any targum or Chaldee paraphrase; nor doth he make use of any such in any of his commentaries, in which they would have been very useful unto him; and therefore from hence they conclude, that certainly they were not in being in his time. But this being a negative argument, it proves nothing: for there might be many reasons which might hinder Jerome from knowing any thing of them, though in common use among the Jews of his time. For, first, though Jerome understood Hebrew well, it was late ere he studied the Chaldee, and therefore it was with difficulty that he attained to any knowledge in it,^a of which he himself complains; and therefore might not be sufficiently skilled to read those targums, had he known any thing of them. But, second, it is most probable that he knew nothing of them: for the Jews were in those times very backward in communicating any of their books or their knowledge to the Christians; and therefore, though Jerome^b got some of their rabbies to help him in his studies about the Hebrew Scriptures, yet he could not have them for this purpose, without bribing them to it with great sums. And what assistance they gave him herein was contrary to the established rules and orders then made and received among that people; and therefore, when these rabbies came to Jerome to give him that assistance in his Hebrew studies which he hired them for, they did it by stealth, coming to him only by night,^b as Nicodemus did unto Christ, for fear of offending the rest of their brethren. And this being at that time the humour of those people, we may hence conclude, that those rabbies served Jerome very poorly in the matter he hired them for, and communicated nothing further to him, than they saw needs they must to earn his money. And, third, as to the other fathers, none of them understood the Chaldee tongue; and, besides, there was in their time such an aversion and bitter enmity between the Christians and the Jews, as

^a In Præfatione ad Danielelem.

^b Hieronymus in Epistola ad Pammachium 65. In Præfatione in librum Paralipomenon, & in Præfatione ad librum Job.

hindered all manner of converse between them, so that neither would willingly communicate any thing to each other, and no wonder then, that in those days these targums were concealed from all Christians, as being doubly locked up from them, that is, not only by the language in which they were written, but also by the malice and perverseness of the Jews who had the keeping of them. But, fourth, besides their malice and perverseness, they had also some very good reasons to be cautious as to this matter: for there being many prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the Messiah explained in these targums in the same manner as we Christians do, it behoved those of that sect not to communicate them to any Christians, lest thereby they should give them an advantage for the turning of their own artillery against them, and the cutting of the very throat of their cause with their own weapons. And for this reason it happened, that it was much above one thousand years after Christ, ere Christians knew any thing of those targums; and scarce three centuries have passed since they have become common among us; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that the ancientest fathers of the Christian church knew nothing of them. And all this put together, I think, may be sufficient to convince any one, that these targums may be as ancient as is said, though neither Jerome, nor any of the ancient fathers of the Christian church, say any thing of them, and that their silence herein can be no argument to the contrary.

As to all the other targums besides these two of Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets, they are all most certainly of a much later date. This is above shewn of some of them from the matters therein contained; but the style in which they are written prove it of all of them: for it being in every one of them more barbarous and impure, and much more corrupted with exotic words and grammatical irregularities, than that of the Jerusalem Talmud, this shews them to have been written after the composition of that Talmud, that is, after the beginning of the fourth century after Christ. It is also to be ob-

served of these later targums, that they abound much with Talmudic fables; if these were taken out of the Babylonish Talmud, this will bring down their date much lower, and prove them to have been written after that Talmud also, as well as after the other, that is, after the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. This hath been already proved of the targum on the Megilloth, which is one of them that I now treat of in this paragraph; and possibly it may be true of some of the rest also. By reason of the barbarity of the style in which these later targums are written, and the great mixture of exotic words with which they abound, they are badly understood among the Jews, even by the most learned of their rabbies, and therefore are not much regarded by them. But of late, Cohen de Lara, a Jew of Hamburgh, and the most learned of that sect which the last century hath produced, hath published a lexicon for their help, in which he expounds all the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Gallic, German, Saxon, Dutch, and English words, which any where occur in their Talmudic and rabbinical writings. This book was a work of forty years labour and study, and first published at Hamburgh A. D. 1668, where the author some years after died.

The targums of Onkelos and Jonathan are in so great esteem among the Jews, that they hold them to be of the same authority with the original sacred text; and, for the support of this opinion, they feign them to have come from Mount Sinai in the same manner, as they say their oral law did, and tell us the same story of their original; that is, that God did there deliver them to Moses, and that they from him were delivered down in a like chain of traditional descent from one generation to another through the hands of the prophets, and other holy men, till at length they were this way received by Onkelos^c and Jonathan; and that all that they did, was only to put them into writing. This shews the high opinion and esteem

^c Talmud in Tractatu Megilla, c. 1. Zacutus in Juchasin.

which they have of them; but the true reason of it, and of their equalling them with the text, was, that they were every sabbath day read in their synagogues in the same manner as the original sacred word itself, of which they were versions. It hath been above already shewn, that, after the Chaldee became the vulgar tongue of the Jews, the weekly lessons out of the law and the prophets in their synagogues having been first read in Hebrew, were, by an interpreter standing by the reader, rendered into Chaldee. This continued for some time, but afterwards, when targums were made, the interpretations was read out of them, without any more employing interpreters for this purpose; that is, the readers did first read a verse out of the sacred Hebrew text, and then the same again out of the Chaldee targum; and so went on from verse to verse till they had read out the whole lesson; and the targums of Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets, having obtained an approbation beyond all the other targums on these Scriptures, they at length were alone used in this service. And this use of them was retained in their synagogues even down to late times, and in places where the Chaldee was among the people, as much an unknown language as the Hebrew. For Elias Levita, who lived about two hundred years since,^d tells us, that they were thus used in his time in Germany, and elsewhere; that is, that they were read in their synagogues after the Hebrew text in the same manner as I have described; and agreeable to this purpose, though only for private use, they had some of their Bibles written out in Hebrew and Chaldee together, that is, each verse first in Hebrew, and then the same verse next in Chaldee; and thus from verse to verse in the same manner through the whole volume. In these Bibles the targum of Onkelos was the Chaldee version for the law, and that of Jonathan for the prophets, and for the hagiographa the other targums that were written on them. One of these Bibles thus written,^e Buxtorf

^d In Præfatione ad Methurgeman.

^e In Epistola ad Hottingerum.

tells us, he had seen at Strasburg, and Walton^f acquaints us, that he had the perusal of two others of the same sort, one in the public library of the church of Westminster, and the other in the private study of Mr. Thomas Gataker.

Whether the targums of Onkelos and Jonathan were received for this use so early as in our Saviour's time, I cannot say; but this seems certain, if not these particular targums, yet some others then were in hands for the instruction of the people, and were read among them in private as well as in public for this purpose; and that they had such not only on the law and the prophets, but also on all the other Hebrew Scriptures. For, as I have said before, it was never an usage among the Jews, to lock up the holy Scriptures, or any part of them, from the people in a language unknown to them; for, when dispersed among the Greeks, they had them in Greek, and, where the Chaldee was the vulgar language, they had them in Chaldee. And when Christ^g was called out to read the second lesson in the synogogue of Nazareth, of which he was a member, he seems to have read it out of a targum; for the words then read by him out of Isaiah (lx, 1,) as recited by Luke (iv, 18,) do not exactly agree either with the Hebrew original, or with the Septuagint version in that place; and therefore, it seems most likely, that they were read out of some Chaldee targum, which was made use of in that synogogue: and when he cried out upon the cross, in the words of the Psalmist, (Psalm xxii, 1,) *Eli, Eli, lama Sabachthani*, i. e. *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me*, (Matt. xxvii, 46,) he quoted them not out of the Hebrew text, but out of the Chaldee paraphrase; for in the Hebrew text it is, *Eli, Eli, lamah Azabtani*; and the word *Sabachthani* is no where to be found, but in the Chaldee tongue.

Those targums are the ancientest books the Jews have, next the Hebrew Scriptures. This is certain of the targums of Onkelos on the law, and of Jonathan

^f In Prolegom. ad Biblia Polyglotta, c. 12, sect. 6.

^g Luke iv, 16, 17.

on the prophets; and although the others are of a later date, yet they were for the most part transcribed and composed out of other ancient glosses and targums which were in use long before. Such I have shewn they had soon after the time of Ezra; but these being written in the pure Jerusalem dialect of the Chaldee language, must in those times in which the language of the Jerusalem Talmud, and of the later targums, was spoken, be as much an unknown language to the people, as formerly the Hebrew was to them, on their return from the Babylonish captivity. And therefore, they seem to have been composed in this corrupted style of that dialect of purpose for their help; and from hence it is, that I take them to be no other than as targums of the old targums, that is, the old targums, which were in use before the time of Onkelos and Jonathan, translated and written over again from the purer Jerusalem dialect (which was in the time of the composure of those later targums no longer understood by the people,) into that which they then did understand, that is, that corrupt language of the Jerusalem Chaldee dialect in which they were composed. And that, therefore, these old targums, with the addition of some rabbinical fables and rabbinical fooleries, which are interspersed in them, are the whole of their contexture; and that all of them, that is, all the later targums (I mean all excepting Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets,) were composed within the compass of one and the same age. The uniformity of their style plainly proves this; and the corruptness of it proves that it was after the composure of the Jerusalem Talmud, as hath been already shewn; but in what age it was after that composure, is uncertain. It seems most probable to me, that it was in that in which the Babylonish Talmud was compiled,^b and that some of them were written a little before, and some of them a little after the publication of it; for that Talmud making mention of some of them, proves these to have been written

^b The Babylonish Talmud was composed about the beginning of the sixth century after Christ.

before it; and some of them making mention of that Talmud, prove these to have been written after it.

They are all of them of great use for the better understanding, not only of the Old Testament on which they are written, but also of the New. As to the Old Testament, they vindicate the genuineness of the present Hebrew text, by proving it the same that was in use when these targums were made contrary to the opinion of those who think the Jews corrupted it after our Saviour's time. They help to explain many words and phrases in the Hebrew original, for the meaning whereof we should otherwise have been at a loss; and they hand down to us many of the ancient customs and usages of the Jews, which much help to the illustrating of those Scriptures on which they are written. And some of these, with the phraseologies, idioms, and peculiar forms of speech which we find in them, do in many instances help as much for the illustrating and better understanding of the New Testament as of the Old. For the Jerusalem Chaldee dialect, in which they are written, being the same which was the vulgar language of the Jews in our Saviour's time, many of its idioms, phraseologies, and forms of speech, which from hence came into the writings of the New Testament, are found in these targums, and from thence are best to be illustrated and explained. The targums of Onkelos and Jonathan must certainly be allowed to be useful for this purpose, as being written just before the time of our Saviour; and although the others were much later, and written in a corrupted style, much differing from that of the other, yet the same idioms, phrases, and forms of speech, still remaining, they serve for this use, as well as the other, especially where transcribed from other ancienter targums, as I suppose they mostly were.

They also very much serve the Christian cause against the Jews, by interpreting many of the prophecies of the Messiah in the Old Testament in the same manner as the Christians do. I shall here instance in some of them.

Genesis iii, 15. God saith unto the serpent, *It* (that is, the Seed of the woman) *shall bruise thy head,*

and thou shalt bruise his heel. Christians interpret this of the Messiah and his kingdom ; and the Jerusalem targum, and that called Jonathan's on the law, do the same.

Genesis xlix, 10. Jacob prophesieth, that *the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a langiver from between his feet, until Shiloh should come.* Christians understand this of the Messiah, and from thence prove against the Jews, that the Messiah must, according to this prophecy of him, have been long since come ; because long since, that is, for many ages past, there hath been no regal power in Judah, no prince of that nation ruling with the sceptre over them ; nor any from between their feet, that is, any born of that people, to make laws or administer justice among them, because for many ages past the whole Jewish policy hath utterly ceased from among them, and they have no where, since the time of Jesus Christ, the true Messiah, been governed by their own princes, or their own laws ; but every where by strangers, and the laws of strangers, among whom they have lived. The Jews, to evade the force of this manifest argument against them, object, first that the word Shebat, in the Hebrew text, which we interpret a sceptre, the instrument of rule, signifieth also a rod, which is the instrument of chastisement ; and therefore say, that though this should be understood of the Messiah, the meaning would be no more than that their chastisement, that is, the banishment which they now suffer in their dispersions among strange nations, should not cease (as they all reckon it will not) till their Messiah shall come to deliver them from it. But, in the second place, they object, that they do not allow that the Messiah is meant by the word Shiloh in this prophecy. But, in both these particulars, the Chaldee paraphrases are against them : for the words of Onkelos in this text are, *There shall not be taken away from Judah one having the principality, nor the scribe from the sons of his children, till the Messiah shall come.* And the Jerusalem targum or paraphrase, and that called Jonathan's, agree with him in both these particulars ; for they both interpret Shebat of the principal-

ity, and Shiloh of the Messiah; and therefore all three of them help the Christian cause in this matter.

Numbers xxiv, 17. Part of the prophecy of Balaam there recited, is, *There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel,ⁱ and shall bear rule over all the children of Seth.* We Christians interpret this of the Messiah; and so doth Onkelos in his targum on that place; for his words are, *A King shall rise out of the house of Jacob, and the Messiah shall be anointed out of the house of Israel, who shall rule over all the sons of men.* And the targum called Jonathan's, interprets this of the Messiah in the same manner also, as that of Onkelos doth; and it is here to be observed, that the targumists rightly render this phrase. All the children of Seth by the phrase, all the sons of men; for all the children of Seth, since the flood, are the same with all the children of Adam, and these are all men. And this shews that, according to this prophecy, the kingdom of the Messiah was not to be a peculiar kingdom for the Jews, but universal for all mankind. And, agreeable hereto, Maimonides interprets this whole text. His words are as followeth, *A sceptre shall rise out of Israel; this is the King Messiah: and shall smite the corners of Moab; this is David, as it is written, (2 Sam. viii, 2,) and he smote Moab, &c. And he shall bear rule over the children of Seth; this is the King Messiah, of whom it is written (Psalm lxxiii, 8,) He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth.* In tract. Melakin, chap. 11, sect. 1.

Isaiah ix, 6, 7. The words of the prophet are, *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace. Of the increase of his government there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom to order it, and to establish it with judgment, and with justice from henceforth even for ever.* Christians all hold that this is spoken of the Messiah; and Jonathan, in the targum which is truly his, doth on that place say the same.

ⁱ So it ought to be translated in our English Bible, and not [*and destroy*] as it hath it. For, if the Messiah were to destroy all the sons of men, where would then his sceptre be?

Isaiah xi. This whole chapter we Christians understand to be of the Messiah, and the peaceableness and happiness of his kingdom. Jonathan doth the same in his targum thereon; and in it doth twice make expression hereof, that is, on the first verse, and on the sixth.

Isaiah lii; liii. What is contained in these two chapters, from the seventh verse of the first of them to the end of the other, is all a continued prophecy of the Messiah. So John in his Gospel (xii, 38,) and Paul to the Romans (x, 16,) do teach us; and so all Christians hold, having so great authority for it. But the description there given of a suffering Messiah not agreeing with the notion which the Jews have of him, who expect a Messiah reigning and triumphing in temporal pomp and power, several of them reject this interpretation, and wrest the whole prophecy to other meanings; some of them understanding it of Josiah, some of Jeremiah, and others of the whole people of Israel. But the targum of Jonathan interprets it of the Messiah, as the Christians do, and twice within the compass of the prophecy (that is, chap. lii, 13; liii, 10,) applies it to him. And Jonathan having composed this targum before Christ's time, the serving of neither party can be supposed then to have influenced him, to have written otherwise than appeared to him to be the plain truth of the matter; and that this prophecy can be understood of none other than the Messiah, is manifest from the whole tenour of it: and it is as manifest, that it was all completed in Christ our Lord. And therefore others among the Jews having rightly judged, that the wrestings abovementioned are not sufficient to baffle the true meaning of this prophecy, have, for the evading hereof, invented another device; that is, that there are to be two Messiahs, and both yet to come; one of which they say is to be of the tribe of Ephraim,^k (and they therefore call him Messiah the son of Ephraim,^k and sometimes Messiah the son of Joseph,)

^k Ben in Hebrew signifying the same as son in English, in Hebrew they are called Messiah Ben Ephraim, and Messiah Ben David; and, because Ephraim was the son of Joseph, therefore they call this their Messiah Ben Ephraim, sometimes Messiah Ben Joseph. The fullest account of what the Jews say of these two Messiahs is given by Dr. Pocock at the end of his Commentary on Malachi.

and the other of the tribe of Judah, and the lineage of David; and they therefore call him Messiah the son of David. The first of these (who, they say,^l will be the forerunner of the other) they make to be a suffering Messiah; and tell us of him that he is to fight against Gog, and, having overcome him, shall afterwards be slain by Armillus, whom they hold to be the greatest enemy that shall ever appear against the church of God in this world. And of this Messiah, the son of Ephraim, they interpret all that is foretold in the Old Testament of the sufferings of Christ our Lord, especially what is foretold of him in this prophecy of Isaiah, and in that of Zechariah xii, 10; in which last, they interpret the words, *whom they have pierced*, of his being to be pierced and run through by the sword of Armillus, when he shall be slain by him. The other Messiah, that is, Messiah the son of David, they make to be a conquering and reigning Messiah, that shall conquer and kill Armillus, and restore the kingdom of Israel, and there reign in the highest glory and felicity; and of him they interpret all that is said in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, of the glory, power, and righteousness of Christ's kingdom. But all that they tell us of their twofold Messiah is a mere fiction, framed without as much as a pretence to any foundation in Scripture for it; a vile and most pitiful fetch, invented only to evade what they cannot answer; and their being forced to have recourse to such a wretched shift is a plain giving up of the cause they make use of it for.

Micah v, 2. The words of the prophet are, *And thou Bethlehem Ephratah shall be chief among the thousands of Judah: out of thee, shall come forth unto me, he that is to be ruler in Israel.* This is the true translation of the Hebrew text,^m and this all Christians understand of the Messiah; and so anciently did the chief priests and scribes of the people of the Jews,ⁿ when consulted by Herod. But, since that time, in

^l They interpret of him all that is prophesied of John the Baptist, Malachi iii, 1.

^m See Dr. Pocock on this text in his Commentary on Micah; and his Miscellaneous Notes published at the end of his *Porta Mosis*, c. 2.

ⁿ Matthew ii.

opposition to the gospel, Jewish writers have endeavoured to give this text another meaning, some interpreting it of Hezekiah, some of Zerubbabel, and some otherwise. But Jonathan, who perchance was one among those scribes whom Herod consulted, gives the true meaning of it by interpreting it of the Messiah, in the same manner as we Christians do: for his version of the text is, *Out of thee, shall come forth before me the Messiah, who shall exercise sovereign rule over Israel.*

Psalm ii. This psalm we Christians interpret to be a prophecy of the Messiah, and hold it all to be fulfilled in our Saviour, and the erection of his kingdom, against all opposition which it met with from Jews, heathen, and the princes and rulers of the earth. And so the holy apostles understood it of old, Acts iv, 25—27; xiii, 33. Hebrews i, 5. In opposition hereto, the Jews apply it wholly and solely to David himself, and will allow it no other meaning either literal or typical, but what is terminated in his person. But the targum is on our side, for it interprets this psalm to be a prophecy of the Messiah,^o as all Christians do.

Psalm xlv. This psalm also Christians interpret to be of the Messiah, and they have for it the authority of the holy penman of the epistle to the Hebrews, (chap. i, 8.) In opposition hereto, the Jews apply it wholly and solely to Solomon, and will allow it no other meaning, either literal or typical, but what is terminated in his person, and the marriage which he made with the daughter of Pharaoh; but the targum is on our side in this matter also, and^p interprets it to be a prophecy of the Messiah, as all Christians do.

Psalm lxxii. This psalm also the Jews interpret of Solomon; but Christians understand it as a prophecy of the Messiah; and the targum is on our side herein; for^q it applies it to the Messiah in the same manner as we do.

Many other instances might be produced out of these targums wherein the prophecies of the Old Testament are illustrated and explained for the advantage of the Christian cause against all opposers. But

^o Verse 7.

^p Verse 3.

^q Verse 1.

these are sufficient to give the reader a taste of all the rest, and also to shew how useful these targums may be to a Christian divine in all controversies about the Messiah, especially against the Jews. For these targums being their own books, all arguments taken out of them, if any thing can convince that obstinate people, must be of a very convincing force against them, especially when they are out of the targums of Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets; for these they hold to be of the same authority with the sacred word itself. Richard Simon the Frenchman^r is against Christians making use at all of those targums in their controversies with the Jews; for he thinks, that our urging of any arguments against them out of those books, may seem to authorize them, which will, saith he, be much to the disadvantage of Christianity, because those books being written with the sole view of establishing the Jewish ceremonies and religion, they will operate much stronger to the support of the Jewish cause than the Christian. But I can see no reason in all this: for certainly we may make use of the targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, for the proving of the ancient and true interpretations of the prophecies of the Messiah explained in them, and of the other targums also for the same purpose, without our incurring thereby that ill consequence which that Frenchman would guard against; our using them for this purpose no more authorizing all else contained in them, than our using the prophecies of the Pentateuch against the same Jews, can be said to authorize their present rites and ceremonies contained in that book, now they are wholly abolished by the gospel. Besides, when we make use of any quotations out of those targums in our controversies with the Jews, they are chiefly used as *argumenta ad homines*. And thus we may use arguments out of the Alcoran against the Mahometans, and out of the Talmud against the Jews, without giving in the least any authority or approbation thereby to either of them.

^r Critical History of the Old Testament, book 2, c. 18.

With much better reason the same Frenchman ^s disapproves of the use of the targums for the proof of the Λόγος or Word, in that sense in which we find it expressed in the first chapter of the gospel of St. John. For through all those targums, in a great number of places where mention is made of God in the original Hebrew, it being rendered the word of God in the Chaldee interpretation; hence the Chaldee Memra, which in that phrase signifieth the Word, hath been thought to correspond with the Greek Λόγος in that gospel, and both exactly to denote the same thing. And therefore several learned men have endeavoured to explain the one by the other, and from hence the divinity of our Saviour. But others, as well as Mons. Simon, ^t being sensible that this phrase in the Chaldee being an idiom of that language which may be otherwise explained, they are against pressing any argument from it for this point, because it is capable of an answer to which we cannot well reply.

These targums are published to the best advantage in the second edition of the great Hebrew Bible set forth at Basil by Buxtorf the father, A. D. 1620: for that learned man hath therein taken great pains, not only to rectify the Chaldee text, but also to reform the vowel pointings in it. At first these targums were written, as all other oriental books, without vowel points; but at length some Jews attempted to add points to them: but this being done very erroneously, Buxtorf undertook to mend it according to such rules as he had formed from the punctuation, which he found in those parts of the books of Daniel and Ezra which are written in the Chaldee language. But some think that the Chaldee which is contained in those two books ^u is too little from thence to frame rules in this matter for the whole language; and ^x that therefore it

^s Critical History of the Old Testament, book 3, c. 24.

^t Lightfoot's Hebrew Exercitation on St. John's Gospel, chap. i, ver. 1.

^u All that is written in Chaldee in both these two books, makes no more than two hundred and sixty-seven verses, of which two hundred are in Daniel, and sixty-seven in Ezra, and these, with one verse in Jeremiah, is all that of the Chaldee language is to be found in the original text of the holy Scriptures.

^x Richard Simon in his Critical History, book 2, c. 18.

had been better if Buxtorf had let this matter alone, and printed those books without any points at all; but left us wholly to be directed by the four letters, *Aleph, He, Vau, Yod*, (which they call *Matres Lectionis*) for the reading of those books. But that great and learned man knew better what was fit to be done, than any that shall take upon them to censure his performances. The world is more beholden to him for his learned and judicious labours, than to any other that lived in his time, and his name ought ever to be preserved with honour in acknowledgment of it. But to return again to our history.

Sosius, whom Antony had left governour of Syria, on his going to Italy, finding that Ventidius had lost his favour by meriting too much from Anno 37.
Herod 1. him in the Parthian war,^y for the avoiding of the like envy, as soon as the war with the Jews was over, industriously avoided doing any thing more, and lay by in quiet all the rest of the year. But he having done too much already, by taking Jerusalem, reducing Judea, and placing Herod in full possession of that country, and being otherwise a man of merit, Antony could no more bear him, than he had Ventidius; and therefore, as soon as he returned into Syria, he removed him from that government,^z and put Plancus, governour of Asia, into his place, and sent C. Furnius to govern Asia in his stead. And thus it frequently happens to other under governours and ministers either of state or war, they being as often undone by meriting too much from the princes they serve, as by demeriting from them.

Orodes king of Parthia, being in some measure recovered from that disturbance of mind which his great grief for the death of Pacorus his beloved son had cast him into,^a fell into as great perplexity, whom of his other sons he should name his successor, instead of him whom he had lost. He had thirty of them born to him of the several wives he had married. All these women pressed hard upon the old king, each soliciting

^y Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 406.

^z Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5.

^a Justin. lib. 42, c. 4.

for a son of their own. At length to put an end to this matter he determined it by the seniority, and appointed Phrabates the eldest of them, who was also the wickedest and worst of the whole number, to be king in his stead; who,^b as soon as he was possessed of the regal power, made the wickedness of his disposition fully appear in it. The first thing which he did, was to put to death those of his brothers which were born to his father of a daughter of Antiochus Eusebes king of Syria; for which he had no other reason, but that they were by their mother of a more noble descent, and otherwise of greater merit, than himself. And finding that his father was much offended at it, he put him to death also. At^c first he attempted it only by giving him hemlock. But that instead of killing him, became a medicine to cure him of the dropsy, which he then laboured with; for it working off in a violent purgation, it carried off the disease with it. And therefore, to make sure work of it, the parricide caused him to be stifled to death in his bed; and after that he put to death^d all his other brothers, and raged with that cruelty towards the nobility, as well as all others, that he made himself the odium of all his people; whereon,^e fearing lest they should depose him, and place a son of his, then grown up to a man's state, upon the throne instead of him, he put him to death to prevent it. Hereon^f great numbers of the nobility of Parthia, dreading his cruelty, fled the country to avoid it; several of whom took refuge in Syria under the protection of Antony; among whom Moneses was the most eminent, who growing much into the confidence of Antony, thereby became the chief promoter of that war with Parthia which Antony the next year engaged in.

Herod, on the death of Antigonus,^g made Ananelus high priest in his stead. He was an obscure
 Anno 36. Herod 2. priest residing among the Jews of Babylonia,

^b Ibid. Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 406.

^c Plutarch. in Crasso circa finem.

^d Justin. lib. 42, c. 4.

^e Justin. lib. 42, c. 5.

^f Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 406.

^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 2, 3.

and a descendant of those who had settled in that country after the Babylonish captivity; but being of the pontifical family,^h and formerly well known to Herod, he sent for him from Babylonia, and put him into this office; and that which chiefly recommended him to this choice, was the obscurity and meanness of the man, that, being a person without credit or interest at Jerusalem, he might not there, by virtue of this high station and dignity, be in a capacity of interfering with the regal authority.

In the interim, Hyrcanus continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till Phrahates came to the crown. Amidst the cruelties which he exercised among his own people, he shewed kindness and generosity towards this captive prince: for as soon as he was informed of his quality,ⁱ he ordered him to be released from his chains, and allowed him to live at full liberty among the Jews of that country; who respecting him as their king, and their high priest, he seemed to have been as much as a king among them, and to have as ample a kingdom, as when he reigned at Jerusalem. For the Jews who were then settled in Babylonia, Assyria, and other countries beyond the Euphrates, which were then parts of the Parthian empire, were as numerous as those in Judea. And all these honoured him as their king, and supplied him with a maintenance suitable thereto; so that he lived there in full honour, ease, and plenty. But, on hearing of Herod's being advanced to be king of Judea, the love which he had for his country so prevailed with him, that nothing could content him, but to return again thither. Having been the preserver of Herod's life, when he was arraigned before the sanhedrim for the death of Hezekias, and the founder of all his fortunes, he expected this man would have treated him as gratitude obliged, and returned him all the kindnesses he had received; and therefore was desirous of putting himself under his protection in Jerusalem; and Herod was as earnest to have him there,

^h Every one of the descendants of Aaron was capable of the high priesthood, if otherwise qualified.

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 2.

as the other to desire it; but with quite another view. He feared some turn might happen to bring Hyrcanus again upon the throne, and therefore desired to have him in his power, that he might cut him off to prevent it, when he should see an occasion for it: and, for this end, not only invited Hyrcanus to him with great earnestness, and greater promises, but sent an embassy to Phrahates of purpose to solicit his permission for him to come; and he having succeeded in both these particulars, that is, with Phrahates to grant him his dismissal, and with Hyrcanus to accept of it, the unfortunate old prince, contrary to the advice of all his friends, left Babylonia, and returned to Jerusalem; where Herod for some time treated him with all seeming respect, till at length he found a pretence to put him to death, in the manner as will be hereafter related.

Publius Canidius,^k one of Antony's lieutenants, having vanquished the Armenians, the Iberians, and the Albanians, and carried his victorious arms as far as mount Caucasus, the name of Antony hereon became very famous and terrible among all the nations of those parts: with which he being much elated, was blown up thereby into a confidence of having the same success against the Parthians; and therefore^l resolved forthwith to prosecute that war against them which he had long designed, and which was at Rome earnestly expected from him, for the revenging of the cause of Crassus, and those Romans that perished with him at Carrhæ; and he accordingly set himself on the making of all manner of preparations for it,^l in which he made great use of Moneses, forming all his schemes for the carrying of it on by his advice; and, to engage him to be the more serviceable to him herein,^l he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, as Xerxes had Themistocles, and promised him also, on his conquering the country, to make him king of it. But, while these projects were a framing, came ambassadors from Phrahates, to invite Moneses home.

^k Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 406. Plutarch. in Antonio. Strabo, lib. 11, p. 501.

^l Dion Cassius & Plutarch. *ibid.* Justin. lib. 42, c. 5:

For the Parthians very ill resenting the banishment of this great man, and Phrahates himself dreading the advantage which the enemy might have against him from the advice of so wise and able a counsellor, and one so well acquainted with the country to direct an invasion into it, this produced a resolution of recalling him; and such terms being offered him as he thought fit to accept, he prepared for his return. Antony had great indignation hereat; and though he had him still in his power, yet thought it not for his interest to put him to death, because this would discourage all others from revolting to him; but to make the best advantage of this incident for his own interest, he, on his dismissing of Moneses, sent ambassadors with him to Phrahates to treat of peace, hoping that, by amusing him herewith, he might divert him from making preparations for the war, and so find him unprovided to make any resistance on his invasion upon him. But he wholly failed of his aim in this matter; for, intending to have invaded the Parthians by the nearest cut over the Euphrates, on his coming to that river,^m he found all the passes so strongly guarded on the other side, that he durst no where attempt the leading of his army that way; whereon he marched off to the left, and passed Mount Taurus into Armenia, purposing from thence to invade first the Medians, and after that the Parthians. And this he was induced to by the solicitations of Artabazes king of Armenia: for that prince, having made a breach with Artavasdes king of Media, for the revenging of his cause upon him, pressed Antony to come this way, and, on his failing of the other over the Euphrates, he accepted of the invitation. And had Artabazes acted faithfully with him, the expedition in all likelihood would have had all the success which was proposed. But,ⁿ instead of conducting him the direct way, which from Zeugma on the Euphrates, (the place from whence he did first set out on the northern march) to the river Araxis, that parted Media from Armenia, was about five

^m Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 407.

ⁿ Strabo, lib. 11, p. 524.

hundred miles, he led him over mountains and difficult passes, and by ways so far about, that he made his march to be of double the length, before he arrived on the borders of Media, at the place intended for the beginning of the war; whereby not only the army was fatigued, but so much of the year spent, that it left him not time sufficient for the executing of what was designed. However,^o to make all the expedition possible, that so he might be back again soon enough to spend the winter with Cleopatra, he over-marched all his heavy carriage (among which were three hundred waggons loaded with battering rams, and other military engines for sieges,) leaving Statianus, one of his lieutenants, with a guard of ten thousand men, to bring them after him. With the rest of his army he hastened forward, by long marches, till he arrived at Praaspa (otherwise called Phraata,) the capital of Media,^p which was within the country, at the distance of three hundred miles from the river Araxis, where the first borders of it began. This city he immediately besieged;^q but it being a very strong place, and well fortified, he soon found the error he had committed in leaving his battering rams and his other military engines behind him; for he could do nothing without them; and therefore, when the Median and Parthian army came up to him, finding him thus in vain spending himself in this siege, they stayed not to give him any disturbance for the raising of it, but, passing him by, marched forward to fall on Statianus, who was coming up with the heavy carriages; and, having surprised him in the way, cut him off, and all his ten thousand men with him (excepting only some few, who had quarters given them in the end of the carnage,) and took all the engines of war, and all the rest of the baggage that was with them; which was a loss and disappointment, that mostly contributed to the making the whole expedition miscarry, next the ill measures by which it was conducted.

^o Plutarch. in Antonio.

^p Strabo, lib. 11, p. 523. He there calls this city Vera, and says it was distant from the river Araxis two thousand four hundred furlongs, that is, three hundred miles.

^q Plutarch. in Antonio. Strabo, *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 407.

As soon as Antony heard of the danger Statianus was in,^r he made all the haste he could to his assistance; but came too late to give any; for, on his arrival, he found him and all his men dead on the field of battle; but no enemy appearing to oppose him, he supposed them fled for fear of him; and this making him resume his courage, he returned again to the siege; but was there attended with the same ill success as in all things else during this expedition; for the enemy lying near at hand, continually harassed him with fresh assaults, taking all advantages for it, especially in his foragings. If he sent out few for this purpose, they were usually cut off in their return; and if he sent many, the remainder were galled by the sallies of the besiegers. He thought to have remedied all this by drawing the Parthian army to a general battle; and twice he attained his aim herein, but with little advantage to him; for although in both conflicts he put the enemy to a thorough rout, yet the Parthians being all horsemen, they made their retreat with that swiftness, and thereby so well escaped the damages usually suffered in such defeats, that, in the last of them, when Antony thought his victory absolute, and pursued it to the utmost, he found that there were only eighty of the enemy slain, and thirty taken prisoners in the whole action. However he continued the siege, till, having eaten up all the country round, he was forced to depart for want of provisions; but his retreat being to be made through the enemy's country for three hundred miles^s (for at that distance^t Phraata lay from the borders of Armenia,) it was attended with great difficulties, and continual dangers. He was^u much beholden to a guide which he had of the Mardians (a people living near the confines of Media and Armenia,) who being well acquainted with the country, faithfully conducted him through it. The Parthian army followed him as far as the river Araxis,^x where the territories of the Medians ended, and harassed him all the way with assaults, as often as they had an advantage over

^r Plutarch. et Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 407.

^s Livii Epitome, lib. 130.

^t Strabo, lib. 11, p. 523.

^u Plutarch. in Antonio.

^x Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49.

them. Eighteen times^x they fell on him with all their forces, and although he as often repulsed them, yet it was every time with greater loss to himself than to the enemy: for as soon as they perceived themselves worsted, they made quick retreats, as being all horsemen, so as to sustain no loss in the pursuit. Three times^z he was in danger of being absolutely undone by ambushes laid in the way for him, which he could not have escaped, but that he had notice given him of them from the enemy's quarters. Twice Moneses served him this way by a special messenger sent to him for this purpose, in return to the kindness he had received from him in his banishment: and the other time he had his intelligence from an old Roman soldier, who having been a captive among the Parthians ever since the defeat of Crassus, came to the Roman army to acquaint him of the danger. Although he made many errors in his conduct of the other parts of this war, there were none of them in this retreat: for he managed it with all the art and success that it was capable of; and after a march of twenty-seven days from the walls of Phraata, he brought his army back again into Armenia, though not without great loss. For on his taking a review of his army, after his repassing the Araxis, he found he brought back of his foot twenty thousand, and of his horse four thousand, fewer than he first carried over that river for this war, more of which perished by the hardships of the campaign than by the sword of the enemy. And although, on his entering Armenia, he was there out of the enemy's country, and had free passage for his army without molestation, yet winter being now advanced, and Armenia all covered with snow, by continuing his march through it during this hard season, he lost several thousands more of his men; so that, on his return to Antioch, Florus tells us,^a he scarce brought back a third part of the number he carried out. And yet he had the vanity on his return to boast, as if he had come back with victory, and as-

^x Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49.

^z Plutarch. et Dion Cassius, *ibid.*

^a Florus, lib. 4, c. 10. Velleius Paterculus saith, he lost a fourth part of his soldiers, and of the servants, sutlers, and others, that attended the army, a third part. Lib. 2, c. 82.

sumed the honours due thereto. He was not at any time indeed during this expedition vanquished in battle, as Crassus had been, but came back alive at the head of his army, and without that disgrace to the Roman arms which attended the absolute defeat of that other general. But if their losses be compared together, this of Antony's will appear the more unfortunate expedition of the two. When Crassus was vanquished by the Parthians at Carrhæ,^b there were slain with him twenty thousand, and ten thousand taken prisoners; but in this campaign of Antony's against the same people, the number of those that were lost in it was much greater; according to Florus' account, it was about twice as much; for he went out with one hundred thousand men,^c and, if he brought back only a third part, then above sixty thousand must have perished of them in this destructive undertaking.

Had Artabazes,^d who marched with Antony into Media with sixteen thousand horse, continued them in his service, that reinforcement would have enabled him to have pursued the Parthian horse as often as they were repulsed, and to have taken thereby all the advantages of these defeats for the making of that campaign fully fortunate. But that faithless man, who had drawn Antony into this war, was the first that deserted him in it; for,^d hearing of the ill fate of Statianus, and those that were cut off with him, he immediately withdrew into his own country, giving all for lost on the Romans' side, and thereby did all that in him lay to make it so; for which Antony at last revenged himself upon him in his utter ruin.

But the main cause of all the misfortunes of this war, as well as of all others, that befell this noble Roman after his obtaining the chief command of the East, was that wicked and lascivious woman Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. On his last return out of Italy into Syria, he forthwith^e sent for her thither, against the advice of all his friends. On her arrival,^f she influenced him

^b Plutarch. in Crasso.

^c Plutarch. in Antonio.

^d Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 407. Plutarch. in Antonio.

^e Plutarch. *ibid*.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 4, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 13.

to many unjust and wicked things for the gratifying of her avarice; and many of the nobility of Syria were on false pretences put to death through her means, for no other reason, but that she might have their forfeited estates; among whom, one was Lysanais, the son of Ptolemy Menneus prince of Chalcis and Iturea,^g whom she having caused to be put to death, on a false accusation of confederating with the Parthians, had thereon his dominions granted to her. The stay which she then made with him, much retarded this Parthian expedition: for, that he might the longer enjoy her conversation,^h he so long delayed his first setting out on it, and by reason hereof came into Armenia so late in the year, that he could not have time enough to do any great feats in this campaign, had he been fully fortunate in it: and, although he sent her away again into Egypt, before he marched forth with his army, yet he went to this war with his heart so bewitched to her, that he precipitated every thing to make the more haste to return to her again. And this precipitation was the cause that made the undertaking so miserably miscarry, as hath been above related. A great part of the summer having been spent ere he came to the river Araxis, instead of passing it so late in the year, he should have put his army there into quarters among the Armenians. After so long and fatiguing a march as they made of it from Syria thither, they needed such a refreshment, and, winter being so near, had he continued them still there in the same quarters till the rigour of it had been over, and begun the war early in the spring following, in all likelihood he would have had better success in it, and would then have had time enough before him for the making of the best advantage of it. This was the best course he could then have taken, and he was accordingly advised to it; but the eager desire which he then had of being speedily back again with that wicked woman, would not permit him to hearken thereto, but hurried him on to enter into a war in a cold country, when the cold season was there beginning. And, when the heavy carriages hindered him in his

^g Joseph. *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 411.

^h Plutarch. in *Antonic.*

march from making that speed with which he desired, for the same reason, to despatch every thing, he left them behind to be brought after him; which not only made the siege of Phraata miscarry, for want of the engines of battery which were with those carriages, but also was the cause of the loss of all those carriages, and of Statianus, and his convoy, who were appointed to bring them to him, they being all, through this ill conduct, cut off and destroyed in the manner as above related. And when the unlucky beginning of the war with so great a loss had made every thing else miscarry in it, and Antony was with great difficulty got back again into Armenia, and ought at least then to have put the remainder of his army into winter quarters, it being the middle of winter,ⁱ for the sake of getting speedily back again into Syria, for the gratifying of his lust with that woman, he obstinately continued his march over that mountainous country, then covered all over with snow; which cost him eight thousand of his men more,^k who perished in that march, by reason of the hardship of the season; which completed the ruin of his army, and reduced them to that small number I have mentioned.

While these things were a doing in the East, a great change happened in the West; Sextus Pompeius being driven out of Sicily, and Lepidus deposed from the triumvirate. Octavianus and Lepidus^l had jointly carried on the war against Sextus Pompeius; and they having had that success in it, as utterly to subdue him both by sea and land, and deprive him of all he had, excepting only seven ships, with which he fled into Asia, Lepidus vainly arrogated the whole honour of the victory to himself, and would have seized all Sicily, as what he thought was due solely unto him, as the just reward of it. But Octavianus, having hereon drawn over all his army to desert to him, reduced him to a necessity to beg his life, and be content to lead the remainder of it in a private and mean condition at Cir-

ⁱ Plutarchus in Antonio.

^k Epitome Livii, lib. 130. Plutarchus in Antonio.

^l Dion Cassius, lib. 49. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5. Epitome Livii, lib. 129. Suetonius in Octavio, c. 16. & 54. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 18. Florus, lib. 4, c. 8.

ceii, a small maritime town among the Latins, where he was sent into banishment. That he attained to be one of the three supreme governours of the Roman empire, was wholly owing to fortune, he being without any merit in himself of either wisdom, valour, or activity, to entitle him thereto; and therefore, after he had thus fallen from what fortune had thus raised him unto, he had nothing more left to recommend him to any further regard, but ended his life in the place of his confinement, in obscurity and contempt. After this, Antony and Octavianus held the whole Roman empire divided between them; the former had all the East, from the borders of Illyrium and the Adriatic gulf, and the latter all the rest. And it is remarked, that Octavianus was no more than twenty-eight years old when he attained to all this, and owed it all wholly to the wisdom of his own conduct; and with the same wisdom whereby he obtained this empire, he governed it ever after, to the end of his life, through a long and prosperous reign.

As soon as Antony had gotten back again into Syria from his late expedition,^m he retired to Lucecome, a castle in Phœnicia, lying between Sidon and Berytus, and there sent for Cleopatra to him, waiting for her coming with great impatience; and for the relief of it, wearing away the time in the interim with feasting, revelling, and drunkenness, till her arrival, without being touched with any concern for the losses of his late unfortunate expedition, or with any other passion, but that of his inordinate love for that lascivious woman. On her coming to him, she brought with her great quantities of garments for the new clothing of his shattered army. These, with a large donative of money, were distributed among the soldiers in Cleopatra's name. The clothes only, it is said, were from Cleopatra, but the money all from Antony; but both were distributed in her name out of complaisance to her. As soon as this was done, Antony returned into Egypt with her; and there they

Anno 35.
Herod 3.

^m Plutarchus in Antonio.

spent the remainder of the winter in all manner of voluptuousness together.

Theⁿ making of Ananelus high priest, and the putting by from that office Aristobulus the son of Alexander, to whom it belonged in right of succession, caused great disturbances in Herod's family: for Alexandra, Aristobulus' mother, could not bear the disappointment, and Mariamne, his sister, Herod's best beloved wife, was continually teasing and soliciting him about it. But he was most embarrassed by the dangers and troubles which Alexandra created him; for she wrote to Cleopatra about this matter, and began also by the means of one Dellius, a favourite of Antony's, to engage him in it; so that Herod found it necessary, for the securing of his safety and quiet, to gratify the two ladies in what he found them so earnest for; and therefore, having deposed Ananelus, he made Aristobulus, then a lad of seventeen years old, high priest in his stead. This satisfying the two ladies, and also pleasing the generality of the people, it restored peace again to Herod's family, and prevented for the present all those dangers and difficulties from Antony, which he was then threatened with about this matter.

But the active genius of Alexandra would not permit this calm long to continue; for she was a woman of a great spirit, as well as of a great understanding; and knowing that her son had as good a claim to the kingdom as he had to the high priesthood, could not bear his being deprived of either; for, by her he was grandson to Hyrcanus,^o and by Alexander, his father, he was grandson to Aristobulus, and therefore had the interest and right of both those brothers centring in him; by his descent from the latter, he had the high-priesthood (that going in the male line,) but, by his descent from both he claimed the crown; and Alexandra having succeeded in her gaining of the

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 2, 3.

^o Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were the two sons of Alexander Janneus. Alexandra was the daughter and only child of Hyrcanus, and Alexander her husband was the son of Aristobulus, these two being married together, were the parents of Mariamne, Herod's wife, and of Aristobulus the high priest.

one,^p pursued the same means for the obtaining of the other also, that is, by intriguing with Cleopatra, that so by her interposition she might gain over Antony to her. But Herod smelling out this correspondence, and guessing at the purport of it, confined her to the palace, and set spies upon her, who so narrowly watched all her steps, that none of them escaped their observation; whereon looking on herself as a prisoner, she resented it with great indignation, and for the remedying of it, formed a plot for her's and her son's escape into Egypt, to Cleopatra, who, on this occasion, had invited them thither: in order hereto, a ship was provided at the next sea-port town, and they were to be carried out in two coffins for their escaping thither. Herod had an account of all this design, and permitted it to go on till it was actually put in execution; but then seizing them on the road, brought them both back again. He durst not openly resent what was done, for fear of Cleopatra; and therefore, making a virtue of necessity, he pretended out of clemency to pardon that in both, which he could not punish in either; but from that time resolved to rid himself of the young man, as soon as he should have a convenient opportunity for it. He was right heir to the crown which Herod, by the favour of the Romans, had usurped from him; and being also a very beautiful young man, the usurper had reason to fear, should he come into the presence of Antony and Cleopatra, how far he might gain on persons so lasciviously affected for the carrying of the point which Alexandra proposed. And further he observed, that the young man grew much into the favour of the people; and the gracefulness of his person, as well as their affection for the Asmonean family, of which he was the sole male remainder, much recommended him hereto. Of which an instance was soon given on a very public occasion; for^q the feast of tabernacles approaching, and Aristobulus then officiating in the office of high priest, he discharged himself with so good a grace, and the splendour of the pontifical robes did so much

^p Joseph. *ibid.*

^q Joseph. *Antiq. lib. 15, c. 3.*

set forth the beauty of his person, that by both these he captivated the affection of the whole assembly, and every man's mouth was full of his praises. This raised the jealousy of the tyrant to so high a degree, that he had not patience any longer to bear him, but immediately after the festival was over, took care to have him drowned at Jericho. He went thither with Herod to take part of an entertainment there provided for them. After dinner was over, several of Herod's attendants bathing themselves in a fish-pond, Aristobulus was persuaded to bathe with them; but he was no sooner plunged into the water, but those that were there before him, according as directed by Herod, ducked and dipped him so long under water, till he was then drowned to death. This was pretended to be done only by way of sport and play, without any intending of that which followed; and therefore endeavours were made to have his death pass for an unfortunate accident, which happened by chance, without any design; and none laboured more to have this believed than Herod himself; for he acted the part of a great mourner for the deceased, shedding abundance of tears, and otherwise expressing great grief for his death, and expending great sums in a splendid funeral for him. But every body saw through his hypocrisy, and abhorred him for it; and none more than Alexandra, who was inconsolable for this loss, and could not have survived it, but for the hopes of having an opportunity of being revenged on the tyrant for it. In order hereto, she put all her wits to work, and being well stored with such as were proper for the effecting of such a design, she had near brought it to pass for the utter ruin of the murderer and all his fortunes, as will be by and by related.

But all this while Antony lay idle at Alexandria, spending the whole year in dalliances with Cleopatra; and, although fair opportunities were offered him for the revenging of the Roman cause upon the Parthians, and utterly subduing that nation, yet he neglected them all for the enjoyment of his lust with this vile woman: for Antony was no sooner returned from his

late expedition, but^r the king of Media and king of Parthia fell out about the prey which they had taken from him on the defeat of Statianus, the latter depriving the other of his share in it; whereon the Median sent an embassy to Antony, offering to join with him against the Parthian, and to assist him with all his forces. This offer Antony gladly accepted of, as wanting the Median horse to enable him to cope with the Parthians, whose whole strength lay in their horse. At the same time he had an account that the affairs of the Parthians were in great disorders and distractions, by reason of several commotions, seditions, and rebellions, then in that country, caused by the tyranny and cruelty of their king. Both these junctures coming together, offered Antony a very advantageous opportunity, by a new expedition against the Parthians, to make amends for the miscarriage of the former; and therefore, resolving to lay hold of it, he forthwith put himself upon his march into Syria, there to make preparations for it. But Octavia being come as far as Athens, in her way to Antony, Cleopatra feared, that, in case they should meet, the wife might again recover the affection of the husband, and she be thenceforth excluded from it; and therefore, for the preventing hereof, she put all her arts to work, feigning herself, after his departure, to be sick in love of him, that his absence had cast her into a languishing condition, of which she must die, unless he would return to her again; for she pretended she could not live without him. This brought Antony back again to Alexandria; and the Median expedition being laid aside, he devoted this whole year to the gratifying his adulterous love with this woman; and as soon as he returned to her, he sent his orders to Octavia at Athens, that she should not proceed any further; which being resented by Octavianus, became the first cause of that war between them, which ended in the ruin of both these lovers, for they both perished in it.

This year did put an end to the family and faction of Pompey the Great. It hath been above related, that at his death he left two sons, Cneius and Sextus,

and that Cneius was slain in Spain after the battle of Munda. Sextus the younger of them having escaped from thence, supported himself for some time in a piratical way at sea; but after the death of Cæsar, and the battle of Philippi,^s having gotten together out of the remains of his party such a naval force as made up three hundred and fifty sail, he seized Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia. From whence being driven by Octavianus and Lepidus, in the manner as hath been related,^t he fled to Lesbus, and there lived for some in quiet among the Mitylenians. But hearing of the ill success of Antony's expedition against the Parthians, he thought this a favourable opportunity for him again to raise himself; and therefore passing over into the continent of Lesser Asia, he there got together a small army, and with it made several desperate pushes for the restoring of his fortunes; but failing in them all, he was this year taken and put to death by Titius, one of Antony's lieutenants. As soon as Antony had notice of his being taken, he wrote to Titius to put him to death; but a little after repenting of it, he sent a second letter to have him saved alive. But the messenger that carried the letters of mercy making haste with them, arrived before the other messenger that had the letters of death; and therefore Titius executing them not in the order of their date, but in the order as he received them, did put the unfortunate captive to death. After this, the parties of Octavianus and Antony divided the Roman empire, and those of Pompey and Cæsar were no more spoken of. Titius had formerly been an adherent of Sextus Pompeius; but, having treacherously revolted to Antony from him, he feared that if Sextus' life were spared, he might some time or other be in a condition to be revenged on him for it; and therefore perversely interpreting the last order that came to hand to be the last that was sent, put him to death by virtue of it; which rendered him so odious to the Roman people, by reason of the great regard and affection which they had to the memory of Pompey and his family, that^u

^s L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 8.

^t Appianus de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 5. Dion Cassius, lib. 49.

^u Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. c. 79.

they could not after this bear the sight of him in the public theatre, but drove him out of it with their hisses and curses, even then, when he was there exhibiting to them games and shows at his own expense and charges.

Alexandra, ^x having by letters acquainted Cleopatra of the murder of her son, possessed her so effectually with the whole villany of Herod in this matter, as fully engaged her to do all that in her lay for the revenging of her cause; so that she never left soliciting Antony about it, till at length she prevailed with him to call Herod to an account for it: and therefore Antony going early this year into Syria (in which journey Cleopatra accompanied him,) he cited Herod there to appear before him to answer this accusation against him. But Herod, on his arrival, by fair words and large presents, so mollified Antony, that nothing could be done against him, though Cleopatra failed not to pursue this cause to the utmost. But this not being so much to gratify Alexandra, as out of a greedy desire to have Herod's kingdom granted to her in case he were cast in this cause, and put to death for it, as he deserved, Antony satisfied her avarice by giving her Cœle-Syria instead of Judea; and hereon she dropped all the rest, and no further prosecution was made herein. Herod, on his leaving Judea to go unto Antony, ^x appointed Joseph his uncle to have the administration of the government, and the care of his family, during his absence, and gave him particularly in charge, that in case Antony should put him to death, he should not permit Mariamne, his best beloved wife, to survive the first news of it; but immediately cut her off. This he ordered, that no one might enjoy so rare a beauty but himself, especially not Antony; for he had been acquainted, that Antony had professed a passion for her upon the very fame of her beauty; and therefore concluded, that, if the matter went hard with him, it would be for her sake, that, after his death, Antony might have the free enjoyment of her; and therefore, should death

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 4.

he now his case, he ordered her death also, that he might thereby deprive Antony of the prey intended, and so, by this disappointment in her death, as far as in him lay, revenge on him his own.

During Herod's absence,^x Joseph frequently waited on Mariamne, sometimes upon business, and at other times to pay his respects to her as queen; in which visits he would often take occasion to magnify and extol the love of Herod to her; and at one time especially, to make this out, he told her, that she was so dear to him, that as he could not live without her, so he was resolved, that death should not part them, and so blabbed out the whole secret; which exceedingly angering Mariamne and Alexandra, as well it might, the latter immediately put her busy head to work how to prevent the mischief intended. And soon after a flying report running through the city, that Herod was put to death by Antony, she forthwith contrived to fly for protection to a legion of the Romans, who then for the safeguard of the country, under the command of one Julius, lay encamped without the walls of Jerusalem. But, while this was in agitation, came letters from Herod, which dashed the whole plot: for they brought an account that he was not only alive, and in safety, but also in great favour with Antony, and soon after he returned. On his arrival, Salome his sister told him all that had been a doing in his absence, and filled his head with jealousy as to Mariamne, accusing her of having too great a familiarity with Joseph, and thereby endeavoured to work the destruction of both, though Joseph was both her uncle and her husband;^y but she was content to sacrifice him, so she might obtain her revenge upon the other; for Mariamne being a lady of excellent beauty, and high born, as being descended of the royal stock of the Asmonean kings, and on both these accounts of as high a spirit, she looked down upon Salome as one of a low original in respect of her, and had reproached

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 4.

^y The Levitical law did not exclude the uncle from marrying the niece, though it did the aunt from marrying the nephew; the reason of which is above shewn under the year 187.

her with it; which the other not brooking, resolved to be revenged on her for it; in order whereto, she never left laying plots for her ruin, till at length she effected it; and this was that which was the reason of her present accusation against her. This at first put Herod into a furious fit of jealousy against his wife; for as his love to her was very great, so his jealousy was proportionable to it; but when the first heat of it was over, and he had in a cooler temper examined Mariamne about it, he soon found that there was no reason for this accusation against her; and therefore earnestly begged her pardon for his too easy credulity herein; and, for the better obtaining of her reconciliation, made great profession in passionate embraces of most ardent love and affection to her. Yes indeed, says she, it is a notable sign of your love, to order the putting your innocent wife to death, in case you should die yourself. At these words Herod flew out of her arms in the utmost fury, and his jealousy all returned again upon him in greater excess than before; for he concluded, that nothing but an adulterous conversation could bring Joseph to betray this secret to her, which he had with the utmost caution committed to his trust; and in this transport of his passion, was just on drawing his dagger to have immediately struck her to the heart; but his love to her checking this first start of his wrath against her, he vented it all upon Joseph and Alexandra; for the first of them he put to death without so much as allowing him an hearing to speak for himself, and the other he clapped into chains, and locked her fast up in prison, as looking upon her to be the root and cause of all the mischief that disturbed his family. Cleopatra following Antony into Syria,^z was there continually soliciting him for new grants of provinces and countries to be made over to her, she being as insatiable in her covetousness, as she was in her lust. She had^a already obtained from him all Cyrene, Cyprus, Coele-Syria, Iturea, and Phœnicia, with a great part of Cilicia and Crete, and^b would

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 4; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 13.

^a Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 412.

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 4; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 13; lib. 7, c. 32.

fain have had also Judea from Herod, and Arabia from Malchus, and solicited hard for the putting of these two kings to death, that she might hereon have their kingdoms for a prey. But Antony would not comply with her in this last proposal; however, for the quieting of her, he was forced to give her out of Malchus' kingdom that part of it which bordered upon Egypt, and out of Herod's the territory of Jericho, with the balsam gardens which there grew. By these large grants he much offended the Roman people, especially since they were made the price of that filthy conversation, which he carried on with this lewd woman.

Antony from Syria marching into Armenia,^c Cleopatra accompanied him as far as the Euphrates, from whence returning by the way of Apamea, and Damascus, she came to Jerusalem, and was there very splendidly entertained by Herod. While she was there, she pretended to be in love with him, and would have drawn him into acts of lewdness with her. The impudence of this attempt created in him an abhorrence of the woman, which joined with the hatred he justly had of her for the ill offices she had endeavoured to do him with Antony, for the depriving him of his kingdom and his life, provoked him to a resolution, now he had her in his power, to put her to death; and it was only the fear of Antony's resentments (the danger of which his friends whom he advised with about it laid fully before him,) that deterred him from putting it in execution. And therefore, laying this aside, he went on to compliment and entertain her with all manner of respects and splendour, as long as she staid with him, and, on her departure, waited on her in person as far as the borders of her kingdom. However, fearing the malice of this wicked woman, as well as the tumultuous temper of the Jews, and their aversion to him,^d he fortified Massada, the strongest castle in Judea, and furnished it with arms for ten thousand men, that there

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 5.

^d Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7, cap. 32.

he might have a place of refuge for his security against all events.

In the mean time Antony in Armenia, having by treachery drawn Artabazes, king of that country, into his power, made him his prisoner, and seized all his kingdom. He had deserted him in his late Median expedition, as hath been above related. This Antony greatly resented, and that justly enough, it having been undertaken on the solicitation and for the sake of Artabazes; and, therefore, he had ever since entertained resolutions in his mind of being revenged on him for it; in order hereto,^e he had several times, under pretence of friendship, endeavoured to draw him within his power; but Artabazes being sensible how ill he had deserved from him, suspected the worst, and therefore kept out of his way. But now finding it was brought to this pass, that it could be no longer avoided, but that he must either go to him, or enter into a disadvantageous war with him, and having all the securities for his safe return that solemn promises and sacred oaths could give him, he ventured his person within his power; ^f but he was no sooner entered into his camp, but he was clapped into chains, and contrary to all the obligations of faith and honesty, made a prisoner. The Armenians, resenting this with the indignation which it deserved, immediately put Artaxias, ^g the eldest son of the captivated king on his throne, and marched under him with all their forces to revenge the perfidy; but Antony having overthrown them in battle, and driven Artaxias to take shelter in Parthia, most of the country submitted to him, and the rest were reduced by force. But the perfidy of this act, in thus seizing a confederate king contrary to faith given, was looked on at Rome as dishonourable to the Roman name; and it was on this account so ill resented by the people,^h that Octavianus, in his speeches both to them

^e Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 411; p. 415.

^f Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 415. Epitome Livii, lib. 131. Velleius Paternulus, lib. 2, c. 82. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 19. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 5.

^g Dion Cassius et Joseph. *ibid.*

^h Dion Cassius, lib. 50, p. 419.

and the senate, made it one of the reasons for the war that afterwards broke out between them.

After thisⁱ he contracted a marriage for Alexander, one of his sons by Cleopatra, with a daughter of the king of Media; and then, leaving the gross of his army in Armenia, he returned with the rest to Alexandria. On his arrival thither, he entered the city in a triumphal chariot, causing the prey which he had taken in Armenia, with king Artabazes, his wife and children, and other prisoners, to be carried before him in the same manner, as used to be done in the triumphs at Rome; only with this difference, that, whereas at Rome, the possession ended at the temple of Jupiter in the capitol, here it ended at the person of Cleopatra; who being seated in public on a golden throne placed on a scaffold overlaid with silver, and surrounded by the people on every side, had there Artabazes and all the other prisoners presented in chains to her. It was expected that they should all have kneeled down before her, and they were pressed so to do; but they too much remembered their former dignity to submit to so low an obeisance; and this refusal caused that they were afterwards used the worse for it. The Romans looking on the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city,^k took it grievously ill at the hands of Antony, that he should carry it elsewhere, for the gratifying of an infamous woman.

A little after this,^l Antony having feasted the people of Alexandria, called them together into the *gymnasium*, or place of public exercise, where having, on such a scaffold as before mentioned, seated himself on a throne of gold, and Cleopatra by him in another, he made an oration to them, and then declared Cæsarion, the son of Cleopatra, to be king of Egypt and Cyprus, in conjunction with his mother; and whereas he himself had three children by the same Cleopatra, Alexander and Cleopatra at one birth, and Ptolemy, whom he surnamed Philadelphus, at another, he at the

ⁱ Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 415.

^k Plutarchus in Antonio.

^l Plutarch. *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 415, 416.

same time gave unto Alexander, Armenia, Media, Parthia, and the rest of the eastern countries, from the Euphrates to India, when they should be subdued; and to Cleopatra, the twin-sister of Alexander, Libya and Cyrene; and unto Philadelphus, Phœnicia, Syria, Cilicia, and all the countries of Lesser Asia, from the Euphrates to the Hellespont; and conferred on each of them the title of king of kings; and^m about the same time he also gave unto Cleopatra the name of Isis, and assumed to himself that of Osiris; the first of which was the great goddess, and the other the great god, of the Egyptians; and from that time both frequently appeared in public, habited in such a dress, as was then thought proper only to those heathen deities. By these doings and follies, Antony daily diminished his character among all that were either sober or wise, and further alienated the affections of the Romans from him; of which Octavianus took the advantage, as of every thing else, to work his ruin.

Antony went early the ensuing year into Armenia, with purpose from thence to make war upon the Parthians,ⁿ and in order thereto marched as far as the river Araxes. But about this time the quarrel growing high between him and Octavianus, this hindered his making any further progress that way. Octavianus^o took the advantage of being present at Rome to excite all there against him, accusing him in several speeches both to the senate and people. Antony, hearing of this, laid aside his intended expedition against the Parthians, and forthwith send Canidius, one of his lieutenants, with sixteen legions, down to the coast of the Ionian sea; and, after having renewed his league with the Median king, he himself hastened after them to Ephesus, there to be ready for the vindicating of his cause against Octavianus, should it come to a breach between them, as all things now seemed to tend thereto. In this journey he carried Cleopatra with him; which proved

^m Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 421.

ⁿ Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49.

^o Dion Cassius, lib. 50, p. 419. Plutarch. in Antonio.

the ruin of all his affairs. His friends earnestly advised him to send her back to Alexandria, there to wait the event of the war. But Cleopatra fearing lest, in her absence, a peace should be made upon terms of Antony's again receiving Octavia, and excluding her, put the utmost of her interest to work for the obtaining that she might stay; and accordingly prevailed herein. Her chief argument for it was, that since she contributed most to the expenses of the war (for she had advanced twenty thousand talents ^p towards it,) it was all reason, that she should be allowed at her desire to be present in it. Antony had provoked Octavianus against him, ^q by the wrong done to Octavia his sister, whom, having married, he rejected for the gratifying of his adulterous love with Cleopatra, though Octavia was much the handsomer of the two. But that which touched Octavianus most was, ^r Antony had declared Cleopatra to have been married to Julius Cæsar, and Cæsarion, whom she had by him, to be his lawful son. For this tended to the bringing of a lawful son over his head to the dispossessing him of the inheritance, which he held only as the adopted son of that great man. These and many other particulars were objected against him by Octavianus; and Antony by his agents and letters re- criminated as fast. But these were only pretences for the gaining of parties on each side. There was only one true cause of the present breach; neither of these two great men being contented with one half of the Roman empire, each would have all, and accordingly agreed to throw the die of war for it.

From Ephesus ^s Antony passed over to Samos; and having there rendezvoused the greatest part of his forces, sailed from thence to Athens, and in these two places he spent the most part of the year. At both of them he lived, after his usual rate, in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness, having Cleopatra with him, who was the chief cause of his immersing

^p This amounted to above four millions of our sterling money.

^q Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 411.

^r Dion Cassius, lib. 94, p. 416. Plutarch. in Antonio.

^s Plutarch. *ibid*.

himself in these excesses. But at the same time he omitted nothing in making all suitable preparations both by sea and land for the war ensuing, and Octavianus did the same; and both parties called in all their friends and allies to their assistance herein.

Sosius (whom we have afore spoken of in the wars of Judea) and Domitius Ænobarbus being
 Anno 32.
 Herod 6. consuls at Rome the next ensuing year,^t both embraced the interest of Antony; and, taking the advantage of Octavianus' being then absent from Rome, promoted a decree to the people against him; whereon Octavianus returning, and in his defence making a speech in the senate against Antony and the consuls, assigned a day for them again to assemble, when he promised he would exhibit to them letters, and other evidences, to make good all that he had said; but before that day came, both the consuls, and several other senators that were of Antony's party, left the city, and repaired to him; and Octavianus, instead of hindering them, gave out that they went with his permission, and caused it publicly to be declared, that all else who were so inclined, should have free liberty to do the same; whereby having rid the city of all opponents, he was there left at full scope to say and do whatsoever he thought fit for the advancing of his own interest, and the depressing of that of his adversary: of which Antony having an account,^u called together the chief men of his party, and, after consultation had with them about this matter, by their advice declared war against him, and^x sent a bill of divorce to Octavia, and messengers to Rome to drive her out of his house in that city, in which she had hitherto lived. And, in pursuit of the war,^y he had by this time so far advanced his preparations for it beyond those of Octavianus, that, had he forthwith pushed it to a final decision, he must unavoidably have carried the day, Octavianus being then in no readiness to stand before him either at sea or

^t Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 416, et lib. 50, p. 419. Suet. in Octavio, c. 17.

^u Dion Cassius, lib. 50, p. 420.

^x Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Plutarch. in Antonio. Epitome Livii, lib. 133. Eutropius, lib. 7. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 19.

^y Plutarch. *ibid.*

land: but the gratifying of his luxury, and the indulging of his pleasures, at Samos and Athens, causing a procrastination of this matter, it was deferred till the next year after; which proved the loss of all: for by that time Octavianus had gotten together those forces whereby he ruined him at Actium, as will be by and by related. And besides, while he thus delayed, many of his friends and partisans^z deserted him, and went over to Octavianus; the principal of which were Plancus and Titius,^z whom Cleopatra's ill usage drove from him; which tended very much to his damage; for they having been made privy to all his councils and secret designs, on their revolting from him, disclosed them all to Octavianus, whereby he much served his cause, especially by the discovery which they made to him of Antony's will. For he having made a very extravagant will in favour of Cleopatra and her children,^a to the damage and dishonour of the Roman state, and lodged it with the vestal virgins at Rome, they informed Octavianus of it; whereon, having gotten this will out of the hands of those with whom it was entrusted, and openly read and recited all the offensive particulars of it to the people, he thereby very much excited them against Antony; they who had hitherto been well affected to him, as well as all others, expressing great indignation hereat. And this very ill thing being from the authentic instrument undeniably made out against him, it operated much further to his hurt, in that it made every thing else that was charged upon him, how false soever, to be believed also; and advantage was taken herefrom to load his reputation with many vile imputations that had not the least foundation of truth in them; for nothing was thought bad enough not to be believed of him after this matter.

^z Plutarch. & Dion Cassius, *ibid*.

^a In that will he had declared, that Cæsarion, Cleopatra's son, was born in lawful wedlock, and therefore was the lawful son, and true heir of Julius Cæsar. And he had, by the same will, given most of the territories of the Roman empire which were under his command to Cleopatra and her children, and ordered his body, wherever he should die, though at Rome itself, to be sent to Alexandria to Cleopatra, there to be buried as she should order. Plutarch. Dion Cassius. Suet. *ibid*.

Octavianus having gotten a fleet and army ready, which he thought sufficient for the encountering of the adversary, no longer delayed declaring war; but caused it to be decreed only against Cleopatra:^b for though the war was in reality against Antony, yet he craftily took care, that his name should not be mentioned in this decree, for several reasons relating to his interest at that time; for this would less provoke the friends of Antony; this would make him the more odious at Rome, by putting it upon him to be the aggressor in this war against his own country, and this would in several other particulars best serve the designs of Octavianus against him. Both called all their friends and allies to their help. Octavianus had all the West, and Antony all the East, on their sides, and both brought great armies into the field, and both also set forth as great fleets at sea for the decision of this quarrel. For Antony's forces, at land and sea, consisted of one hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and five hundred ships of war; and Octavianus^c of eighty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and two hundred and fifty ships of war; and with these preparations they begun their hostilities against each other both by sea and land. In order hereto, Octavianus rendezvoused both his fleet and army at Brundisium, and Antony came as far as Corcyra to meet him, but the summer being now spent, and the tempestuous season of the year advanced, they were forced both to retreat, and put their armies into winter quarters, and lay up their fleets in winter stations, till the next spring.

While the preparations for this war were thus carried on, Herod^c had provided an army for the assistance of Antony; but, when he was ready to put himself on his march towards him, came letters from Antony, which excusing him from this expedition, sent him to make war nearer home, against Malchus, king of Arabia Petrea. It hath been above related, how Cleopatra extorted from Antony a grant of that part of Malchus' dominions which bordered upon Egypt. Malchus, instead of quarrelling with her about it, agreed out of

^b Plutarch. et Dion Cassius in Antonio.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 6, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 1.

fear of Antony, to hold that territory of her for a certain tribute; this tribute he duly paid while Antony was in power, and at liberty to force him to it; but, now finding him involved in this war with Octavianus, and expecting he would perish in it, as it accordingly happened, he withheld his hand, and would pay it no longer; and for this reason Antony, at the instigation of Cleopatra, ordered Herod to make war upon him. But this wicked woman had further view in this matter than the bare recovering of her tribute. She concluded, that when these two kings should be thus put together by the ears, one of them would be killed in the war, and then she should have the kingdom of the slain for a prey to her. Herod, on the receipt of these orders, marched with all his forces into Arabia, and there, after a sharp fight with Malchus, obtained a very signal victory over him; but, in a second engagement with him at Cana in Coele-Syria, he had not the same success; for Athenion, who was Cleopatra's lieutenant in those parts, out of hatred to Herod, joining with Malchus in the battle against him, he was there overthrown with a great slaughter, and he himself hardly escaped with some remains of his vanquished army, the rest being all cut in pieces.

And not long after another calamity^d happened to him from a terrible earthquake, which shaking the whole land of Judea in a more grievous manner than had been before known, destroyed about thirty thousand of the inhabitants in the ruins of the houses which it overthrew. Herod being much afflicted herewith, sent to the Arabians to crave peace; but they having it rumoured among them, that the destruction was much greater than it was, despised the message; and therefore putting the ambassadors to death, invaded the land, as expecting not to find a sufficient number left alive to defend it against them. But Herod's forces having been all encamped abroad

Anno 31.
Herod 7.

d. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 7, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 14. It is to be observed, that Josephus saith, in his Antiquities, that only ten thousand perished in this earthquake. His words there are *πρὸς μυρίας*, that is, one myriad, but in his book of the Jewish war it is *τρεῖς μυριάδες*, that is, three myriads, which is thirty thousand: for every myriad is ten thousand. This latter number seems best to agree with his description of the calamity.

when this earthquake happened, they suffered nothing from it, save the overthrowing of their tents, which killed no body. And therefore^e he having gotten them together, and encouraged them with a speech proper for the purpose, marched with them over Jordan to meet the enemy, and in the first encounter overthrew them with the slaughter of five thousand of their men, and besieged the rest in their camp; where he distressed them so far for want of water, that he drew them to another battle, in which he slew seven thousand more, and forced all the remainder to yield themselves prisoners to him; whereon the Arabians were necessitated to sue in their turn for peace to Herod, and were glad to accept what they lately despised on such terms as he thought fit to demand from them; whereby Herod having obtained all that he intended by this war, returned with victory and full triumph again to Jerusalem.

In the interim^f Octavianus and Antony were hastening to bring their contest to a final decision. As soon as the season would permit, their armies again took the field, and their fleets the sea, and several encounters happened between parties sent out from each side both by sea and land; in all which victory declared in favour of Octavianus. This caused that many of Antony's side despairing of his success, especially since they saw him so much under the conduct of Cleopatra, went over from him to Octavianus. This made Antony distrustful of all the rest; and therefore resolved to push the matter to as speedy a decision as he could; and the other being as eager for it as he, this brought on the battle of Actium, which was so called from the place near which it was fought. This was^g a small city lying on the south side of the mouth of the Ambracian gulf in Epirus. There Antony, with the gross of his army, lay encamped, having his fleet near him on the shore; and on the opposite side Octavianus was encamped at a place, where after-

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 8, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 8, c. 14.

^f Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 50.

^g Dion Cassius, lib. 50, p. 426. Strabo, lib. 10, p. 451. Plin. lib. 4, c. 1.

wards, in commemoration of the victory which he there obtained, he built a city, which he called Nicopolis;^h and there he had his fleet also near him on the shore; so that the stations in which both fleets anchored were not above a mile's distance from each other. Canidius, who had the chief command of Antony's army,ⁱ persuaded him to decamp from Actium, and march into the inland country of Thrace or Macedon, and rather try his fortune in a battle at land, than in his fleet by sea; for Antony had been forced^k to burn many of his ships for want of rowers and mariners to navigate them,^l most of those who first came out with him being dead through want of necessaries whereby to subsist, and the rest were but ill manned. But, notwithstanding this,^m Cleopatra's advice prevailed to have the matter decided by a fight at sea; for, in case of the worst, she thought she might much better escape in her shipping by sea, than she could by a flight at land; and therefore either foreboding or fearing the worst, she prevailed with Antony to try his fortune by sea; and accordingly, on the 2d of September this year,ⁿ both fleets engaged before the mouth of the Ambracian gulf near Actium, in the sight of both armies at land, the one being drawn up on the north side, and the other on the south side of the straits entering this gulf, there to wait the event of this battle. The fight^o for some time continued dubious, and with as fair a prospect of success for Antony as for the other, till Cleopatra deserted him; for she being affrighted with the noise and terrour of the battle, as being what ladies use not to be acquainted with, fled before there was any reason for it, and drawing after her all the Egyptian squadron, to the number of sixty tall ships of war, sailed off

^h Nicopolis in Greek signifieth the city of victory.

ⁱ Plutarch. in Antonio.

^k Dion Cassius, lib. 50, p. 428.

^l Plutarch. in Antonio. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 19.

^m Dion Cassius, lib. 50, p. 428. Plutarch. in Antonio.

ⁿ Dion Cassius saith this battle was fought on the fourth of the nones of September, which, according to our reckoning, is the second of that month. Dion Cassius, lib. 51, in initio libri.

^o Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 50. L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 11. Velleius Patere. lib. 2, c. 85. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 19. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 17.

with them towards Peloponnesus : hereon, Antony giving all for lost, made after her, and this flight gave the victory entirely up to Octavianus. However, he came not easily by it : for Antony's ships fought so valiantly for him, even after he was fled, that, although the fight began at noon, it was night ere it was ended ; so that the victors were forced to lie on board their ships all night. Next morning Octavianus, finding his victory complete, sent a squadron of his ships in pursuit after Antony and Cleopatra ; but they, soon finding them to be gone too far to be overtaken, returned again to the rest of the fleet. In the interim, Antony and Cleopatra^p got to Tenarus in Laconia. Although Antony,^p as soon as he came up with Cleopatra's ship, was taken on board of it, yet he saw her not through all this voyage ; but setting himself down in the prow of the ship, and there leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and shame for the ill conduct and miscarriage of his affairs, continued in this melancholy posture for three days together, till his arrival at Tenarus. But after this, being brought again together, they again conversed with each other, and did eat together, and lie together in the same manner as before : for Antony was so bewitched to this woman, that he still continued his fondness for her, even at this time when he had all the reason in the world to detest and abhor her to the utmost, as having been in the manner above related the cause of his ruin.

Antony had not been long at Tenarus^q till some of his ships that had escaped the fight, and several of his friends there repaired to him ; by whom having an account of the total defeat of his fleet, but that his army at land was still safe, he wrote to Canidius to retire with it through Macedonia into Asia, purposing there to renew the war. Canidius for seven days made the march which Antony directed him to ; but being then overtaken by Octavianus, he fled by night to Antony ; whereon the army finding themselves

^p Plutarchus in Antonio.

^q Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 51.

deserted by their generals, went over to Octavianus, and were listed by him among the rest of his forces.

After this defeat,^r the foreign auxiliaries that helped Antony in this war, fled all home to their respective countries, and afterwards made their peace with Octavianus upon the best terms they could. Some of the princes he deposed, and some of them he continued in their former state; but on all these last, as well as on the free cities that had joined with Antony, he imposed heavy mulcts, wherewith he discharged the expenses of the war. But as to the Romans that were of Antony's party, some of them he pardoned, and some he fined, and others he put to death, according as their conduct had been towards him. Among those whom he put to death was Cassius Parmensis, the last survivor of Cæsar's murderers, and he perished in as calamitous a manner as did all the rest: for,^s after the battle of Actium, he fled to Athens; where, being terrified with the like apparition as Brutus^s had been at Philippi, he was soon after overtaken by those whom Octavianus sent to execute that vengeance upon him which he deserved. In cases of murder, it seldom happens, that Providence permits any that are guilty herein to escape its vindictive hand, especially in the murder of princes; of which this of Cæsar was a very signal instance: for of all those who conspired his murder in the senate-house (who are said to have been sixty persons,)^t it is remarked,^u not one died in his bed, but all of them came to their end in a violent and calamitous manner. And although this Cassius escaped the longest, yet at length vengeance overtook him also, and he perished as miserably as did all the others.

From Tenarus,^x Cleopatra sailed to Alexandria, and Antony to Libya. He had formerly^y sent thither Pinarius Scarpus to be governour of that province; and there placed an army under his command for the guarding of the western borders of Egypt against all

^r Valerius Maximus, lib. 1, c. 17.

^s Plutarchus in Bruto et Cæsare.

^t Suetonius in Julio Cæsare, c. 80. Eutropius, lib. 6, in fine.

^u Plutarchus in Cæsare.

^x Ibid. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 5.

^y Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 446.

that should come that way to disturb it. This army he thought to have had for his service, which was the end of his going thither. But, on his landing there, ^z he found Scarpus and all with him had revolted to Octavianus; which disappointment casting him into despair, he would have slain himself, and it was with difficulty that he was diverted from it by his friends. And therefore, all that was now left for him to do, was, to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was returned a little before. On her arrival thither, fearing she might not be received, were her misfortunes known, she entered the harbour^a with her ships crowned, as if she had come again with victory: by which means she got again into the full possession of that city, and also of the whole kingdom with it; and as soon as she had so,^a she put to death all those of the nobility who were any way averse to her, thereby to prevent the tumults which she feared they might raise against her on the discovery of the true state of her affairs. Antony, on his coming to Alexandria, found her engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking: for, fearing she might fall into the hands of Octavianus on his pursuit of her into Egypt, for the preventing hereof,^b she projected the drawing of her ships that were in the Mediterranean from that sea into the Red sea, over the isthmus of seventy miles which lay between them;^c and, after having joined them with other ships which she then had in the Red sea, to put on board them all her treasure, and sailing down the Red sea with them, to seek some other place for her habitation. But the Arabians, who dwelt on that sea, having, at the instigation of Q. Didius (who had then seized the presidency of Syria for Octavianus,) ^d burned all those ships, this wholly disappointed her of that design. Antony, when he

^z Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 446.

^a Dion Cassius, *ibid*.

^b Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 447.

^c Plutarch saith the length of this isthmus was no more than three hundred furlongs, which is thirty-seven of our miles; but the Arabian geographers reckon from Pharma to Suez, which is the shortest cut over that isthmus, to be seventy miles.

^d Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 447. Plutarch. in Antonio.

arrived at Alexandria, went not to the palace,^e but shut himself up in a house on the sea shore, near Pharos; and there sequestered himself from the company and conversation of all men; for being forsaken by almost all his friends, he pretended to act the part of Timon^f the man-hater, and therefore called this house his Timonium, and there solitarily spent his time in meditating hatred and detestation against all mankind, for the sake of those who had now deserted him, wrongfully imputing to them his ruin, which his own ill conduct and folly had brought him to. But he did not long relish this way of living. He was soon again^g found with Cleopatra at the palace; and there with her revelled away the remaining part of his life in all those excesses of luxury, voluptuousness, and folly, in which he had spent the former. In the mean time Octavianus,^h having settled the affairs of Greece and Lesser Asia, repaired to Samos, and there took up his winter quarters.

But in them he did not long continue, some disturbances in Italyⁱ called him thither in the midst of winter to appease them. After the battle of Actium^k he had dismissed a great part both of his own and Antony's soldiers. The veterans he sent into Italy, and others elsewhere, without giving them any pay, having not then sufficient for it; for want hereof, those in Italy raised a mutiny; for the quelling of this he sent Agrippa,^k his chief confident, into Italy; but the work being too hard for him,^k Octavianus was forced, in the most tempestuous season of the year, to hasten after him to Brundisium. On his arrival at that place,^l he was there met by the senate, and a great part of the better rank of the people of Rome, and having there called the mutineers to him,^l he distributed to some money, as far as what he then had would go,

^e e Ibid. Strabo, lib. 17, p. 794.

^f De quo videas Plutarchum in Antonio. Diogenem Lartium, lib. 9. Lucianum in Dialogis.

^g Plutarchus in Antonio.

^h Suetonius in Octavio, c. 17.

ⁱ Plutarchus et Suetonius, ibid.

^k Ibid. Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 444, 445.

^l Dion Cassius, ibid.

and to others lands, and made such promises of speedy satisfaction to the rest, as induced them all to be contented for the present; and accordingly, after the conquest of Egypt,^l he paid them all out of the spoils of that country, and added donatives over and above. And, having thus settled all matters in Italy,^m he returned again within thirty days; and, for the more speedy passage, and to avoid the tempests of the sea round Peloponnesus, he sailed into the gulf of Corinth, and drawing his ships over the isthmus of Peloponnesus, passed that way by the shortest cut into Asia, and again arrived there before Antony and Cleopatra had any notice of his going thence.

On his coming to Rhodes,ⁿ Herod, king of Judea, there made his address to him. It hath been above related, how much he was in friendship with Antony; neither did he leave him till his case was grown absolutely desperate. On his return into Egypt,ⁿ Herod sent an especial messenger to him with the best advice the state of his affairs was then capable of, that was, to kill Cleopatra, seize her kingdom, and with her treasure raise a new army to carry on the war; and promised him in this case to stand by him to the utmost. But when he found this advice was neglected, and that Antony was fallen again into the snares of Cleopatra as much as ever, he thought it high time to look to himself, and endeavour to make his peace with Octavianus on the best terms he could. But Hyrcanus being still alive, who was the only remaining person of the male line of the Asmoneans, and who had himself reigned in Judea under the protection of the Romans, till deposed by the Parthians,^o Herod had suspicion, that, if any thing went hard with him, it would turn in favour of Hyrcanus for the restoring of him again to the kingdom; and therefore, for the preventing of it, having trumped up a sham plot against that old prince, as if he held correspondence with Malchus, king of Arabia, for the accomplishing of treasonable designs against him, caused him, under this pretence, to be

^l Dion Cassius, *ibid*.

^m Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 445, 446. Suetonius in Octavio, c. 17.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 10; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 15.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 9.

put to death, after he had passed the eightieth year of his age.

But still fearing what might happen,^o to provide the best he could for the worst, should that be his fate, he lodged Mariamne and Alexandra her mother in the castle of Alexandrium, with a strong guard, under the command of Joseph and Sohemus, two of his most truly confidants, and sent his mother and sister, with the rest of his kindred to Massada, the strongest fortress in all Judea; and committing them and the government of his kingdom to the care of Pheroras, his brother, ordered him, in case he should miscarry, to assume the crown to himself, and keep it as well as he could. And having thus settled all matters at home, he set forward on his journey to meet Octavianus,^p and having found him at Rhodes, and there obtained audience of him, on his entering into his presence, he laid aside his diadem, and, in his speech of address to him, freely owned all, "that he had done for Antony, and what further he was ready to have done for his interest, both by his counsel and assistance, would he have accepted of them. This, he said, he thought himself obliged to by the friendship that was between them; and, would he be pleased to think the like friendship worthy of his acceptance, he should, now he saw Antony was wholly lost, be ready with the same fidelity to serve him." Octavianus, being much taken with this generous and frank way of Herod's thus delivering himself before him, told him, that he readily accepted the friendship which he offered, and ordering him again to resume his diadem,^q confirmed him in the kingdom. Whereon he made very large and magnificent presents to Octavianus and all his friends; and after this had more of his favour and friendship than any other tributary prince of the Roman empire, as long as he lived.

Hereon Herod, being much pleased with this good success, went back into Judea with much joy; but, on

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 9.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 10, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 15.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 10, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 15. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 765. Taciti Hist. lib. 1, c. 9.

his arrival thither, found all this soured with troubles in his own family. For he found Mariamne,^r his most beloved wife, in whose conversation he most delighted, so far imbittered against him, that she rejected all his caresses with the utmost aversion; and when he thought to please her by relating to her the manner of this journey, and the success which he obtained in it, instead of taking any satisfaction herein, she answered him only with sighs and groans, and such a behaviour as plainly expressed she would have been better pleased had he never returned from his journey, but had utterly perished in it. The cause of this was, when Herod committed her and her mother to the charge of Sohemus, on his going to Octavianus, he ordered him, that, in case he should be put to death, he should immediately, on his having certain notice of it, put both of them to death also, and do the utmost he could to preserve the crown for Pheroras, to whom he had in this case disposed it. And this he did, not only that no one else might have the enjoyment of the beautiful Mariamne, but that none might be left alive of the Asmonean family to claim the crown in opposition to that disposal which he had made of it to Pheroras his brother, she and her mother being the only persons remaining of that house for the opposing him herein. And Alexandra, being a lady of an aspiring spirit, thought herself as capable of governing that realm as her grandmother of the same name, who as queen had presided over it with great wisdom and prudence for nine years together. And to give her her due, she had the best head-piece for craft, design, and political intrigue, of any woman of her time; and Herod well knowing this, thought he could not be sure that any part of the scheme, which he had laid for the succession, could take place, if either she or her daughter were left alive after him; and therefore ordered that both of them should be put to death, in case it should happen to him as he feared; and Sohemus having blabbed this out to Mariamne, though committed to him under the greatest charge of secre-

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 11.

cy, this was that which created in her that aversion and hatred to him which I have mentioned; which behaviour Cyprus, Herod's mother, and Salome his sister, who had always been upon ill terms with her, taking the advantage of to exasperate him against her, prevailed with him at length to put her to death in the manner as will be by and by related.

From Rhodes, Octavianus passed through Lesser Asia^s into Syria, from thence to invade Egypt on that side, while Cornelius Gallus his lieutenant, whom he had appointed to succeed Scarpus in Libya and Cyrene, invaded it on the other. On his arrival at Ptolemais,^t Herod there waited on him, and entertained him and all his army with great magnificence, and furnished them with necessaries till their arrival into Egypt, and over and above presented Octavianus with eight hundred talents; by which hospitality and munificence, he very much ingratiated himself with him and all his followers. In the interim, Antony and Cleopatra tried all they could to obtain peace with Octavianus, but without any success. Three times^u they sent ambassadors to him for this purpose, and went so far as to offer to resign all, and be contented with a private life in any place which Octavianus should appoint; only the kingdom of Egypt was desired for Cleopatra's children; but neither of these embassies could obtain any answer for Antony; but to Cleopatra some hopes were given: Octavianus was desirous of having her treasure and her person in his power, the former for the discharging of the expenses of the war, and the other for the adorning of his triumph; and therefore would not make her desperate, lest she should destroy both; for the preventing of this, several kind messages were sent to her, and by them she was made to expect much favour in case she would kill Antony; this she would not do; but after this she betrayed him in all things, till at length she forced him thereby to kill himself. The first instance

^s Plutarch. in Antonio. Suetonius in Octavio, c. 17. Joseph. Antig. lib. 15, c. 10. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 19.

^t Joseph. *ibid.* et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 15.

^u Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 51.

of her treachery to him was at Pelusium; for, on Octavianus' approach to that city, it was by her order, ^x without any resistance, delivered up unto him. This on the eastern side of Egypt, and Peritonium on the western, were the two gates of that country, and no enemy, but through one of them, could enter thither with a land army. Pelusium being a very strong place, Antony expected it should have held out a long time, and therefore^y went to secure Peritonium. Cornelius Gallus then held this place for Octavianus. The army which Gallus there commanded having been in the pay and service of Antony, till carried over from him to Octavianus by the desertion of Scarpus, he hoped, that, on his appearing before Peritonium, they would again return to their former master, and deliver up the place to him; but when he approached to the walls, and would have spoken to the soldiers, Gallus caused all his trumpets to sound, so that not a word of what he said could be heard by them; and Gallus immediately after sallying out upon him, not only repelled his land forces, but having, by a stratagem, hemmed in all his ships in the port, took or destroyed every one of them; for, on the approach of this fleet, he dropped chains by night to the bottom of the entrance of this port, and permitted them to sail into it without opposition; but on their being gotten in, having, by engines provided on each side, strained those chains so as to bring them up to the surface of the water, he thereby hindered their return, and then forthwith assaulting them on every side, both from sea and land, obtained over them the victory mentioned. Antony, after this defeat, hearing of the taking of Pelusium, and that Octavianus was advancing towards Alexandria,^z hastened thither for the defence of that place; and there falling on Octavianus' horse on their first coming, while under the fatigue of their march thither,^z he put them to a total rout; but, in a second engagement with the foot, he was vanquished and driven back into the city with a great loss; where-

^x Plutarch. et Dion Cassius, *ibid.*

^y Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 448, 449.

^z Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Plutarch. in Antonio.

on^a early the next morning he went down to the harbour, there to put his fleet in order, with purpose to vanquish the enemy at sea, or else, in case of failure, to sail with it for Spain, and there renew the war. But when both fleets were drawn up in a line of battle, that on Antony's side, instead of engaging the enemy, all went over to them; whereon Antony returning into the city, had this further mortification, that he there found all his land forces, both horse and foot, had also deserted from him; and perceiving all this to have been effected by the treachery of Cleopatra, he could no longer forbear expressing his resentments for it with loud complaints; whereon Cleopatra, for fear of him,^b fled to a monument, which she had caused to be built of a great height and wonderful structure near the temple of Isis. Thither she had before removed the best of her treasure, and there having now shut herself up with two of her maids and one of her eunuchs, caused it to be given out that she was dead; which Antony hearing of, fell on his sword, and thereby gave himself the wound of which he died;^c but living some few hours after, and hearing that Cleopatra was still alive, he caused himself to be carried to her monument; where, being with ropes drawn up to her by the hands of herself and her two maids, he there died in her arms on the first of August, eleven months after the battle of Actium. He was a person of a benign temper, and of great generosity, and of eminent note for his military abilities; the two great victories of Pharsalia and Philippi being chiefly owing to his valour and conduct; and he was also an eloquent speaker; but exceeding corrupt and vicious in his manners, especially in his lust for women; which Cleopatra observing, laid hold of him on this weak side, and, for the gratifying of her avarice and her ambition, which were two predominant passions in her, sacrificed herself to his lust; and, when she could no longer serve her designs of him, was content to

a Dion Cassius, et Plutarch. *ibid.* Orosius, lib. 6, c. 19.

b Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 449, 450.

c L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 11. Strabo, lib. 17, p. 795. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 17. Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 15, c. 11. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 87. Eutrop. lib. 7.

give him up to ruin for the saving of her own interest. But she succeeded not herein according to her expectations; for although Octavianus gave her fair hopes thereby to have her treasure preserved for his occasions, and her person for his triumph, yet, when he had gotten both into his power, he no longer regarded her, which she being sensible of,^d and having private notice given her, that she was to be carried to Rome within three days, to make a part in the shew of Octavianus' triumph, she^d caused herself to be bitten with an asp,^e and so died of it, for the avoiding of this infamy, after she had reigned from the death of her father^f twenty-two years, and lived thirty-nine. She was a woman of great parts, as well as of great vice and wickedness. She readily spoke several languages; for besides being well skilled in Greek and Latin^g she could converse with Ethiopians, Troglodites, Jews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, and Persians, without an interpreter, and always gave to such as were of these nations, as often as they had an occasion to address her, an answer in their own language. In her death ended the reign of the family of the Ptolemies in Egypt, after it had there lasted from the death of Alexander two hundred and ninety-four years; for after this Egypt was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and was governed by a prefect sent thither from Rome. Cornelius Gallus was,^h by the appointment of Augustus, the first that had this prefecture; and under this form of government Egypt continued a province of the Roman empire six hundred and seventy years, till it was taken from them by the Saracens,ⁱ in the year of our Lord 641.

^d Plutarch. *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 452. Galen de Theriaca ad Pisonem, c. 8. Velleius Patercul. Florus, et Eutropius, *ibid.*

^e An asp is a serpent in Egypt and Libya, proper only to those countries. Those that are bitten by it die within three hours, and the manner of their dying being by sleep and lethargy, without any pain, Cleopatra chose it as the easiest death.

^f Canon Ptolemæi. Plutarch. in Antonio. Eusebius in Chronico. Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scaligeri. Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. lib. 1.
^g Plutarch. in Antonio.

^h This Gallus was a famous Latin poet, of whom Virgil wrote his tenth eclogue, he being a familiar friend of his.

ⁱ Elmacini Historia Saracenica sub anno Hegiræ vicesimo.

Octavianus having made himself master of Egypt, and thereby put an end to the civil wars of the Romans, he cut off all such of the opposite party as he thought might again revive them, among whom were Antyllus,^k Antony's eldest son by Fulvia,^k Cæsarion, Cleopatra's son by Julius Cæsar, and Canidius,^l Antony's general; others he impoverished with great mulcts, and others he pardoned. Cæsarion, having claimed to be the lawful heir of Julius Cæsar, for that reason could not be borne by the adopted son. What was the especial cause of Antyllus' being cut off, is not said; but he having^m espoused Julia, the daughter of Octavianus, and all manner of endeavours having been made to save him, we may from hence infer, that he would not have been put to death, but that there was some extraordinary reason that caused it. To Antonius,ⁿ the younger brother of Antyllus by the same mother, and to all the rest of Antony's children, whether by Fulvia, Octavia, or Cleopatra, Octavianus shewed great kindness, especially to Antonius, who afterwards became one of the chiefest of his favourites, and he gave him in marriage one of the daughters of Octavia his sister, which she had by Marcellus her first husband; and he continued in his favour, till at length being convicted to have been an adulterous corrupter of Julia, Augustus' only daughter, he was deservedly put to death for it. The children which Antony had by Octavia were two daughters; the eldest was called Antonia Major, and the youngest Antonia Minor; from the latter of which were descended Caligula and Claudius, and from the former Nero; who all three afterwards became Roman emperours. For Antonia Minor being married to Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, bore him Germanicus the father of Caligula, and Claudius who succeeded Caligula; and Antonia Major being married to L. Domitius Ænobarbus, bore him Cneus Domitius, who, by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and sister of Caligula,

^k Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 51. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 17.

^l Velleius Parterculus, lib. 2, c. 87. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 19.

^m Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 454.

ⁿ Plutarch. in Antonio.

who was the father of Nero. And therefore, though Octavianus now obtained the empire, yet Antony's posterity afterwards enjoyed it, which none of Octavianus' ever did. And thus it often happens to victories, and the conquests of kingdoms, the same as to riches; those that gain them know not who shall afterwards enjoy the fruits of them; and yet it is the general inclination of mankind to be more concerned for their posterity than for themselves, and it must be reckoned as one of the mercies of Providence, that it is so; for otherwise the world could not be supported.

While Octavianus was in Egypt, he^o went to the sepulchre of Alexander, and there saw his body, which being embalmed, was there still preserved in a case of glass.^p It had formerly been kept in a case of gold, but that having been taken away by Seleucus Cybiosactes (as hath been above related,) ^q it was afterwards put into a case of glass, and in that Octavianus saw it, and paid great honour and reverence thereto; but he would not see the sepulchres of the ^r Ptolemies who had reigned in Egypt; neither could he be ^r induced to make a visit to the Egyptian Apis, but told them, who pressed him hereto, that he worshipped the gods, but not beasts.

As Octavianus came to Alexandria in the beginning of August, so he had there settled all the affairs of Egypt by the end of it; and, in the beginning of September, again marched thence to return by the way of Syria, Lesser Asia and Greece, again into Rome. From this conquest of Egypt begun the era of the Actiac victory, by which the Egyptians^t afterwards computed their time till the first year of the emperor Dioclesian, A. D. 284: from that time what was before called the era of the Actiac victory, was afterwards called the era of Dioclesian, and by the Chris-

^o Suetonius in Octavio, c. 18. Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 454.

^p Strabo, lib. 17, p. 795.

^q Part 2, book 7, under the year 57.

^r Dion Cassius & Suetonius, *ibid.*

^t Dion Cassius tells us, (lib. 51, p. 457,) that the Romans decreed the day on which Octavianus reduced Alexandria should be declared a fortunate day, and that from thence all their future years in Egypt should be reckoned, that is, as from a fixed and stated epocha, and so accordingly it was there done.

tians of those parts, the era of the Martyrs; because in the reign of that emperor began the tenth persecution, in which a very great number of Christians suffered martyrdom for their holy religion. Although this era had its name from the Actiac victory, yet it had not its beginning^u till near a full year after it, that is, from the time that Egypt was reduced; for the day from whence it commenced was the 29th of August. And therefore that was ever after the first day of the year, through all the years by which these eras, that is, the era of Dioclesian, or the Martyrs, as well as that of the Actiac victory, did calculate the times through which they were used. The reason which fixed the beginning of this era, and of all the years in it, to the 29th of August was, say some, because on that day Cleopatra died; and the Macedonian empire in that country thereby ending, the Roman began; but this is only a modern conjecture, for none of the ancients say it. All that we can learn from them is, that she died about the end of that month, but none of them tell us on what day it happened. The true reason of fixing it at this day was, because this was then the first day of their month Thoth,^x which was always the new year's day of the Egyptians, from whence they began all their annual calculations; and therefore it was thought the properest time from whence to begin all the alterations in their era, and their year, which the Romans, on the conquest of their country, made in both; and that especially since the time of that conquest fell in therewith.^y For at that time the form of their years, as well as the era by which they calculated them, was changed by the order of the conqueror. The old era which was till now in use among them was the Philippic, which commenced from the death of Alexander, and the beginning of the reign of Philippus Aridæus his successor;

^u The Actiac victory was gotten on the 2d of September, and the era of this victory begun in Egypt the 29th of August following.

^x Thoth was the first month in the Egyptian year.

^y The conquest of Egypt, and the total reduction of that country to the Romans, was accomplished in the month of August, and fully settled about the end of it. See the decree of the senate for the changing of the name of that month from Sextilis to that of Augustus. Macrobius Saturnalis, lib. 1, c. 12.

and the form of their year was the same with the Nabonassarean made use of by the Chaldeans, which consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, and five additional days subjoined to them; that is, it consisted in the whole of three hundred and sixty-five days, without a leap year, the want whereof made this year to be a moveable year, which after every four years begun a day sooner than it did in the four years immediately preceding; so that, in the space of fourteen hundred and sixty years, this form carried back the beginning of the year through all the different seasons of summer, spring, winter and autumn, till it brought it about again to the same point of time with the loss of one whole year in the cycle. For the remedying hereof, the Romans, on their subduing this country, made a leap year in the Egyptian calendar in the like manner as in the Julian, by adding at the end of every fourth year one day more than had been in the other three. For whereas the other three had only five days superadded at the end of each of them, the leap year had six; that is, it consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, and six additional days subjoined to them; whereas all the other years that were not leap years, had the same number of like months, and only five of those days added after them. And hereby the Egyptian year was made to consist exactly of the same number of days as the Julian, though not exactly in the same form. For in all other particulars the old form of the Egyptian year was retained, after this reformation, in the same manner as before. And the first of Thoth, which was always the first day of the Egyptian year, falling on the 29th of August, and about the same time when the Romans, on their conquest of Egypt, ordered this reformation, this induced them that they fixed the beginning of the new year where they found the beginning of the old; and the 29th of August ever after continued to be the first day of the Egyptian year as long as the empire of the Romans continued in that country; and from thence also, that is, from the 29th of August of this year, the new Egyptian era of the Actiac victory, as well as their new reformed year, for the

same reason had its commencement. But against this it is objected, that in this year, the first of Thoth^z did not fall on the 29th of August, but on the 31st of that month; and that therefore this cannot be the reason why the beginning of the Egyptian era of the Actiac victory, or the beginning of the year thenceforth used in that country, was fixed to that day. And it must thus far be acknowledged, that, according to the exact calculation of the time, this objection is true. For, according to that, the first of Thoth fell this year in the Roman calendar on the 31st, and not on the 29th of August; but the Romans then used the form of the Julian year erroneously, whereby it came to pass, that the same day, which was the 31st of August in their true calendar, was the 29th in their erroneous calendar; which error proceeded from hence, that, after the death of Julius Cæsar, the pontifices at Rome (as hath been abovementioned) ^a mistaking the time of the intercalation, made every third year to be the leap year, instead of every fourth; by which error, six hours were added every third year more than should be, which, in the sixteen years that intervened from the first use of that form to this year, amounting to a day and a quarter, this erroneous addition had then protruded the 29th of August in the erroneous calendar into the place of the 31st of August in the true calendar; and, according to this erroneous calendar, the Romans then computed, and so continued to do for thirty-six years after the first forming of this year by Julius Cæsar; till at length^b Augustus, on the discovery of this error, took care, that, by making no leap years for twelve years together, all the time that was erroneously added was again left out, whereby the protruded days in the erroneous calendar were all brought back again to their proper places, where they ought to have been according to the true calendar.

^z The first of Thoth, which was the new year's day of the Egyptians, was not fixed always to the same season in the old form of the Egyptian year, but was moveable, for it moved backward one day in every fourth year. The Romans first fixed it to the same season, and made their year to be a fixed year in the same manner as the Julian.

^a Under the year 46.

^b Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1, c. 14. Suetonius in Octavio, c. 31.

But the protrusion of the day making no alteration in its number or name, hence it came to be said, that it was the 29th of August, whereas, truly, it was the 31st of that month, from whence this Egyptian era of the Actiac victory, and all the years by which it computed, had their beginning. This era truly had its beginning from the conquest of Egypt; and therefore ought to have been called the era of the Alexandrian victory, whereby that country was reduced under the Roman yoke. But the Egyptians, to avoid the disgrace of thus owning this conquest, rather chose to call it the era of the Actiac victory, though that was gained a whole year before; and since this era was only used in Egypt, they had it there in their full power to call it by what name they pleased.

Herod, hearing of the death of Antony, and that Octavianus had thereon made himself master of Egypt, hastened thither to him,^c where he was received with great kindness; and on Octavianus' leaving Egypt, having accompanied him as far as Antioch, he so far ingratiated himself with him on the way, as to gain a chief place in his friendship, the effect whereof he found in the grants which he made him of large augmentations to his dominions. For he not only restored to him the territory of Jericho, which, with the balsam gardens therein, had been taken from him by Antony to gratify Cleopatra, but gave him also Gadara, Hippon, and Samaria, in the inland country, with the towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Straton's tower, on the sea coast, which added a very considerable enlargement to his kingdom.

Octavianus, on his arrival at Antioch,^d found there Tiridates (who had been set up to be king of Parthia in opposition to Phrabates,) waiting his coming thither; and there also he found ambassadors from Phrabates on the same errand, that is, to solicit his assistance against each other. It hath already been related,^e how, after Antony's unfortunate expedition into Media, a breach was made between Artavasdes, king of

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 11.

^d Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 456.

^e Under the year 35.

Media, and Phrahates, king of Parthia, about dividing the prey then taken from the Romans. Hereon Artavasdes,^f making a league with Antony, called him to his assistance; who accepting the invitation, marched into Armenia, and from thence furnished Artavasdes with such a body of Roman soldiers, as enabled him to overthrow Phrahates in a great battle. This happened in the year 33. But the next year following, ^g Antony, on his entering into war with Octavianus, having not only recalled those soldiers from him, but also retained those which Artavasdes had sent him out of Media in lieu of them, this so far weakened Artavasdes, that in a second battle he was not only overthrown, but also taken prisoner, and Phrahates, in pursuit of this victory, made himself master of all Media and Armenia, and reinstated in the latter, Artaxias, the son of Artabazes, again in his kingdom, out of which he had been driven by Antony. With which success, as well as that which he had before obtained over Antony,^h Phrahates being much puffed up and elated, carried himself with such tyranny, cruelty, and proud oppression, that the nobility of Parthia being no longer able to bear him, in the year 31 conspired against him; and, having driven him into banishment, chose the abovementioned Tiridates to reign over them in his stead. But the next year after, (that is, in this present year 30) Phrahates returned with an army,^h and, having vanquished Tiridates, recovered again his crown, and forced the usurper to fly into Syria for refuge; where he being followed by the ambassadors from Phrahates, which I have mentioned, both parties accosted Octavianus at Antioch, on his return thither out of Egypt, to crave that assistance from him against each other which they wanted. Octavianus gave to each a friendly answer, without intending to help either, but rather to dash the one against the other, and thereby waste and weaken both so far, as to make the Parthian nation no longer formidable to the Romans. And, with a view hereto, he gave leave to

^f Dion Cassius, lib. 49. Plutarchus in Antonio.

^g Plutarch. in Antonio. Dion Cassius, lib. 49.

^h Justin. lib. 42, c. 5. Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 456.

Tiridates to continue in Syria, till he should be again in a condition to return, accepting of him a son of Phrahates, that had fallen into his hands, whom he carried to Rome, there to reserve him as an hostage against Phrahates. After this, having appointed Messala Corvinus to be prefect of Syria, he marchedⁱ from Antioch into the province of Proper Asia, and there took up his winter quarters.^k

In the beginning of the next year,^l Octavianus entered his fifth consulship, and had therein many great honours decreed to him at Rome.

Anno 29.
Herod 9.

In the summer following, having settled all the affairs of the several provinces of Lesser Asia, and the isles adjoining,^m he passed into Greece, and from thence returned to Rome,ⁿ where he arrived in the month Sextilis,^o afterwards called August, and entered it in three triumphs,^p which were celebrated three days together; the first for his victories over the Dalmatians, Pannonians, and some other German and Gallic nations, whom he had vanquished and brought under, before his war with Antony began; the second for his sea victory at Actium; and the third for his victories in Egypt, and the subduing of that country, which last was the most splendid of the three. In it were led before him the children of Cleopatra; and although he could not have her in person to adorn this triumph, as he much desired, yet she was carried before him in effigy, with an asp hanging at her arm to denote the manner in which she died. At this time such vast riches were brought to Rome from Egypt on the reducing of that country, and the return of Octavianus and his army from thence,^q that the value of money fell one half, and the prices of provisions and all vendable wares were doubled thereon. After this triumph Octavianus had the title of imperator,^r that

i Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 457. Videas Casauboni contra Baronii exertionem primam, c. 30.

k Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 456.

l Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 457. Suetonius in Octavio, c. 26.

m Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 458.

n Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1, c. 12.

o Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 458. Epitome Livii, lib. 133. Suetonius in Octavio, c. 22. Virgilius Æneid. lib. 8, v. 714. Servius in illum locum.

p Orosius, lib. 6, c. 19. Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 459.

q Dion Cassius, lib. 52, p. 493, 494.

is, emperour, conferred on him; not in the common sense, wherein it was formerly understood (for in that it imported no more than a compliment given by the soldiers to their general, after a victory obtained by them under his command,) but in a much higher. For in the sense it was given to Octavianus at this time, it carried with it the same meaning in which all that afterwards governed the Roman empire were called emperours.

Herod, on his return from the late visit which he made unto Octavianus, how much content and satisfaction soever he had therein, and the success of it, found nothing but trouble and vexation at home in his own house. Mariamne^r still retained her resentments for the cruel commission given by him to Sohemus against her and her mother, and carried them on so far, as to treat with equal aversion him and all his relations, especially Cyprus his mother, and Salome his sister. Them she frequently upbraided with the meanness of their birth in respect of her's, which was provoking enough to a female spirit; and him she as often reproached with the death of her father, her grandfather, and her brother. In this humour he left her on his last going unto Octavianus, and in this humour he found her on his return, without knowing the cause (for that Mariamne had concealed for the sake of Sohemus.) On his offering her his caresses and the kindest tenders of his affection, she still rejected them with neglect and aversion; and nothing that he could do for the sweetening of her embittered spirit, and the reconciling her again to him, could have any effect. This last injury soured her to such a degree, as to frame her mind for the reception of the utmost resentments which his former wrongs done her and her family deserved. The commission formerly given against her to Joseph, his uncle, and the abovementioned murders of her nearest relations, were all brought to her remembrance on this occasion; and all worked together to exasperate her against him to the utmost. Herod bore this humour for a whole year after his

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 11.

return from Rhodes, and was exceedingly perplexed by it. Sometimes in rage he would be ready to run into extremities against her; but as often as he was so, his wrath was checked by the great love he had for her; and thus he was harassed between two opposite passions, till at length an occasion happened, which gave his mother and his sister an advantage for the exciting of him to her ruin, and he had near effected his own by it. For being at one time, in the heat of the day, retired to his chamber to repose himself, he called for Mariamne to come to him, out of a desire of then having conjugal conversation with her. At his call she so far obeyed as to go into the chamber to him. But, on his offering her his caresses and embraces, she rejected them with the utmost aversion, and added over and above such bitter reproaches for the death of her relations, as provoked and enraged the tyrant to so high a degree, that he had much ado to forbear laying violent hands immediately upon her for the revenging of the indignity. Salome, on her understanding how the matter went, took the advantage of this fit of rage he was then in, to send in his butler to him, whom she had before suborned for this purpose, to accuse Mariamne of tempting him to administer to him a poisonous cup. This adding to the rage, with which he was then too much excited against her already, he forthwith ordered her favourite eunuch, without whose privity he knew she did nothing, to be put on the rack; but all that could be extorted from him was, that it was something, which Sohemus had told Mariamne, that had put her into so ill an humour. Herod, on his hearing of this, from his rage of anger, fell into as violent a rage of jealousy; and therefore crying out, that Sohemus, who had hitherto been so faithful to him, could never have been induced to betray this secret to her, but at the price of an adulterous conversation, he ordered him immediately to be put to death; and having packed a bench of judges out of such as were his creatures, brought Mariamne before them to be tried for her life; who, finding by the vehemency with which Herod in person prosecuted the accusation, that no other sentence but that of death

would be acceptable to him, accordingly passed it upon her; but none thought, nor did he then intend, that the execution should be precipitated, but that she should be confined to some of his castles; and this at first was his resolution. But the malice of his mother and sister was so bitter against her, by reason of the affronts she had put upon them, in upbraiding them with the meanness of their extraction, and for other womanish quarrels had between them, that they would not let him be quiet, till she was put to death. They urged, that if she was kept alive, the people would rise in her behalf; and that there was no other way to keep things quiet, but by cutting her off. By which suggestions Herod being terrified, ordered her execution. In the way as she was led to it, she was accosted by Alexandra her mother, who fell on her with bitter railings, accusing her of being wicked and ungrateful towards a kind and affectionate husband, and telling her, that she had what she deserved; and all this she expressed with such a seeming emotion of spirit, as if she would fly in her face all the way as she went. She fearing her turn might come next, and therefore, to save her life, she acted this scandalous and shameful part; but her daughter, without answering her a word, passed on in silence, only by her looks she expressed some shame and concern, for her mother's exposing herself in so odd and extravagant a manner in this case, otherwise she went on to her execution with an intrepid mind, without changing colour upon the approach or apprehensions of death, but died as she had lived, great, firm, and fearless to her last. And thus ended the life of this virtuous and excellent princess. In the beauty and other charms and graces of her person, she excelled all the women of her time, and would have been a lady without exception, could she have carried it with some better temper and complaisance towards her husband. But considering, that he had built his fortunes upon the ruin of her family; that he had usurped from them the crown which he wore; that he had caused or procured^s

^s That is, Alexander the son of Aristobulus, who was put to death at Antioch, by the procurement of Herod and Antipater his father.

her father,^t her grandfather,^u her brother, and her uncle to be put to death,^x for the serving of his designs, and had twice ordered her death in case of his own, it would put difficulties upon the most patient and best tempered woman in the world, how to bear such an husband with any affection or complaisance. But Herod's rage being quenched with her blood, his love to her again revived; whereon followed such a bitter scene of late repentance, as is scarce any where else to be met with. As soon as his wrath was allayed, instead of it, agonies of sorrow, regret, and tormenting remorse for what he had done, filled his mind, which would not let him rest either day or night; wherever he went, the thoughts of Mariamne pursued him, and caused bitter reflections in his breast. These he endeavoured to stifle by wine, company, feastings, and other divertisements; but none of them effecting his relief, he at length fell into downright distraction, and in his fits of it would often call for Mariamne, and order his servants to bring her to him, as if she were still alive.

Hereupon also there happened^y a grievous pestilence, which carried off great numbers both
 Anno 28. of the common people and nobility of the
 Herod 10. land; which all there reckoned as a just judgment from God for the death of the queen. This further added to Herod's grief and disorder, so that, not knowing what to do, he flung up the care of all business, and retired to Samaria, where he fell into a great sickness. After having languished under it for some time, he at length got rid of it with difficulty, and returned again to Jerusalem, and the care of his kingdom. But never again recovered his former temper: for after this he was observed to act with greater rigour and cruelty than he ever had before, and continued so to do to his life's end.

While he lay sick at Samaria,^y Alexandra, whose active and busy head could never be at rest, reckon-

^t Hyrcanus the father of Alexandra, the mother of Mariamne.

^u Aristobulus the high priest.

^x Antigonus the brother of Alexander her father.

^y Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 11.

ing that Herod would die of this sickness, immediately laid plots for the seizing of the government: in order whereto, she treated with the governours of the two castles of Jerusalem, that of Antonio on the mountain of the temple, and the other in the city, to have them delivered into her hands, knowing, that whoever had these two castles, had with them the mastery of Jerusalem and all Judea. Her pretence was to secure the kingdom in case of Herod's death for his sons by Mariamne; but the governours of those castles, liking neither Alexandra nor her designs, sent an account hereof to Herod, who immediately gave order to have her put to death. So she got nothing by that hypocritical and infamous part which she acted at her daughter's execution; for notwithstanding that, and the court which she made thereby to Herod's favour, she was the next that was executed after her.

Octavianus^z having at Rome filled the senate with his creatures, whose fortunes depended on his holding on the government, then proposed to them to resign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people, upon the old foundations of the Roman commonwealth, craftily making this offer for the gaining of the applause of the people, and the cloaking of his own ambition, when he knew that all of that assembly (their interest lying on the other side) would unanimously press him to the contrary; and so it accordingly happened. For he had no sooner in a set speech made the proposal, but the whole senate, with an unanimous voice, dissuaded him from it, and pressed him with all manner of arguments to take upon him alone the whole government of the Roman empire, which at length he yielded to with a seeming reluctancy, and by this management brought it about, that the monarchy of the whole Roman empire was at this time, by the unanimous consent, both of the senate and people of Rome, conferred on him for ten years. For he would not accept of it for any longer term, pretending, that by that time, he hoped he should have settled all things in such peace and

Anno 27.
Herod 11.

^z Dion Cassius, lib. 53.

order, that there would be no further need of him, but that he might then, with safety to the commonwealth, ease himself of the burden, and put the government again into the hands of the people and senate, as it formerly had been. This method he took to make the matter go the more plausibly, but with intention, when those ten years should be expired, again to renew his lease; and so accordingly he did, from ten years to ten years, as long as he lived, all this while governing the whole Roman empire alone with an absolute authority. And therefore here ended the ancient republican government of the Roman state. For all the authority of the people and senate being now vested in Octavianus, it continued in him and his successors ever after, as long as the Roman empire continued, without being ever again retrieved. With this new power it was resolved to confer on him a new name; some were for the assuming that of Romulus, thereby to import, that he was as another founder of Rome; and others offered other names; but Munacius Plancus^a having proposed the name of Augustus, which signifieth something that above human is sacred and venerable, that was made choice of, and conferred on him by the general suffrage of the senate; and it was always after this borne by him and his successors; so that instead of the name of C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus, which he had hitherto borne, he from thenceforward took that of C. Julius Cæsar Augustus. And therefore whereas I have hitherto mentioned him by the name of Octavianus, I shall henceforth always give him that of Augustus, as often as there shall be an occasion to speak of him in the future series of this history. That he might seem not to take the whole power of the Roman empire to himself, he made a shew of allowing the senate a share of it with him. For having divided^b the empire into two parts, the one containing those provinces which were quiet and peaceable, and the other those, which, lying upon the

^a Dion Cassius, lib. 53. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 7. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 91. Eptiome Livii, lib. 134. Censorinus de Die Natali, c. 21. L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 12.

^b Dion Cassius, lib. 15, c. 11.

outskirts of the empire, and bordering upon the barbarous nations, were exposed to troubles and wars, the former of these he assigned to the senate, to be governed by such of them as had been consuls and pretors, according to their former usage; and the others he reserved to himself, to be governed by his presidents and other officers whom he should appoint; whereby it seemed, and so he would have it thought, as if he desired to leave the sweet of the government still to the senate, and reserve only the troublesome and dangerous part to himself. But herein he shewed his great wisdom and sagacity: for by this method he secured all the armies and military power, wherein consisted the whole strength of the empire, to himself, they all lying in those provinces which he had chosen; whereas the others being without them, such as governed those provinces could have no power from thence to create him any danger or disturbance. The latter were called the senatorial provinces, and the other the imperial; and of this imperial sort were particularly Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, in the East, besides others in the other borders of the empire,

Salome^c falling out with Costobarus, the Idumean, her second husband, whom she had married after the death of Joseph, her first husband, sent him a bill of divorce, contrary to the law and usage of the Jews. For, according to that,^d the husband might divorce the wife, but not the wife the husband: but Salome, by Herod's authority, made that go for law which best pleased her. On her having thus abdicated her husband, she returned to her brother, and, to make herself the more acceptable to him, pretended, that she had discovered Costobarus to be conspiring against him with Lysimachus, Antipater, and Dositheus, men of note in that country, and that for this reason she left him, as preferring the love of her brother before that of her husband. And, to gain the better credit to her accusation, she discovered

Anno 26.
Herod 12.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 11.

^d Deut. xxiv, 1, 2, &c. Matt. v, 31; xix, 7. Mark x, 4. Maimonides de Repudiatione.

where Costobarus had concealed the sons of Babas contrary to his order and interest. These being chief sticklers for the interest of the Asmoneans, Herod, at the taking of Jerusalem, gave strict orders to have them cut off, and entrusted Costobarus with the executing of them; but he, for some by-ends of his own, saved them alive, and giving out, that they had made their escape, conveyed them to a place of safety, where he had kept them concealed ever since. Herod, on Salome's information, sent to that place which she named, and there finding all to be true, which she had told him concerning them, he believed her as to all the rest; and therefore forthwith ordered not only them, but also Costobarus, Lysimachus, Antipater, and Dositheus, with several others, who were accused of being their accomplices, to be put to death.

Cornelius Gallus being recalled from Egypt,^e Petronius was made prefect in his place. Gallus, on his return to Rome, being too lavish of his tongue against Augustus,^f was for this reason forbid his house and the provinces under his command, and noted with infamy. After this, other accusations coming against him of concussions, rapines, extortions, and other misdemeanors committed by him, while governour of Egypt, he was, by the unanimous vote of the senate, condemned to banishment; but he prevented the execution of this sentence by falling on his sword, and slaying himself. He was an eminent poet,^g and a familiar friend of Virgil's,^h as appears by his tenth eclogue, which was written on him.

Herod, having cut off all the Asmonean party, without leaving any alive that had been favourers of it, thought himself now secure against all future dangers; and thereforeⁱ made bold in many things to deviate from the Jewish usages, by bringing in foreign rites and customs; for he built at Jerusalem a theatre and an amphitheatre, and, in honour of Augustus, celebrated games, and exhibited shows in them, which

^e Strabo, lib. 17, p. 819.

^f Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 512. Suetonius in Octavio, c. 66.

^g Vossium de Poetis Latinis.

^h Servium in Eclogam Virgili 10.

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 11.

were much disliked by the generality of the Jews, as things which they thought inconsistent with the legal constitutions and religion of their country. But nothing offended them more than some trophies which he had set up round his theatre in honour of Augustus, and in commemoration of his victories. For they taking them to be images, for that reason could not bear them. Herod, to convince them of this folly, having called several of the principal of them upon the place, caused the armour to be taken off in their presence, and when they saw nothing appeared under,^k but a naked stem of a tree, their indignation was turned into laughter, and so this matter went off.

But the other innovations stuck hard with many, and gave such great offence,^l that some of them, to the number of ten persons, entered into a conspiracy against him, for the cutting of him off by an assassination; for which purpose, having provided themselves with daggers, under their garments, they went to the theatre, where Herod was then to come, designing there to fall upon him and slay him. But one of Herod's spies (of which he had great numbers abroad) having gotten some inkling of the matter, made discovery of it to him, as he was going to enter the theatre, just when the plot was ready to have been executed upon him, whereon the conspirators being seized, they were all put to death by most exquisite torments. But he that made the discovery did not fare any better. For he having hereby incurred the general odium of the people, some of them meeting with him in a convenient place, fell upon him, and tore him in pieces. But Herod never left making inquiry after this matter, till he had discovered all that were concerned in it, and he did put every one of them to death for it.

To secure himself the better against all such tumults and conspiracies for the future, he thought it would be safest for him to have other places of strength in the

^k A trophy was a whole suit of armour with the head-piece, dressed up upon a stem of a tree, and was usually erected in commemoration of a victory.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 11.

land to depend upon besides Jerusalem; and therefore, setting himself on the building of several other strong cities in the land, he begun with that of Samaria. This city, once famous for being the capital of the kingdom of Israel, was destroyed by John Hyrcanus, as hath been above related. When Gabinius was made president of Syria,^m he ordered the rebuilding of it: from him it was some time called the city of the Gabinians,ⁿ that is, of those whom Gabinius had planted there; but under them the place advanced no further than to be a small village. Herod first made it again a city, and restored it to its pristine splendour; and, in honour of Augustus, called it Sebaste. For Sebastos in Greek is the same with Augustus in Latin; and, therefore, Sebaste is as much as to say, the city of Augustus. This place^o he planted with six thousand people, invited thither from all parts, and divided among them the country about it, which being of a very fertile soil, as soon as it was cultivated, it brought forth such plenty, as in a short time rendered the place rich and populous, and made it fully answer all the purposes for which he intended it. He also put a garrison into Straton's tower (which, in honour of Cæsar Augustus, was afterwards called Cæsarea;) and he did the same in Gabala, and in some other fortresses which lay convenient, for the keeping of the country in quiet.

The name of Augustus growing famous all over the world, the remotest nations of the North and East,^p that is, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Indians, and the Seres, sent ambassadors with presents to him, to pray his friendship; the last of which Florus tells us,^q were four years on their journey, which is to be supposed, coming and going. The Seres were the furthest people of the East, the same whom we now call the Chinese. They being anciently famous for the making of silk, and silken manufactures, hence serica^r became

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11, c. 10.

ⁿ Cedrenus Syncellus, p. 302.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 11.

^p L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 21. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 21. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 21.

^q L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 12.

^r The Seres first used the way of making silk from the web of the silk worm. From them that name and thing came to the Persians, and from them to the Greeks and Latins. The first time that any silk was brought

the name of silk, and *sericum* of a silken garment, both among the Greeks and Latins.

This year, it being the thirteenth of the reign of Herod,^s great calamities fell upon the people of Judea. A long drought produced a famine, and that famine a pestilence, which swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. Herod, for the remedy hereof (his treasury being then empty,) melted down all the plate of his palace, even that which was most valuable for its fashion and workmanship, and making money of it, sent it into Egypt to buy corn, where there was then great abundance of it; and by the friendship of Petro-

into Greece was on Alexander's having conquered Persia; and from thence it came into Italy, in the flourishing times of the Roman empire. But it was a long while very dear in all these western parts, as being weight for weight of equal value with gold, a pound of the one costing a pound of the other. For the Persians took care to keep this manufacture for a long time wholly to themselves, not permitting the silk worms to be carried out of Persia, or any to pass from thence into the West, that were skilled in the managing of them; and thus it continued to the time of Justinian the emperour, who died A. D. 565. He looking on it as a great hardship, that the subjects of his empire should buy this manufacture of the Persians at so dear a rate, in order to put an end to this imposition, sent two monks into India, to learn there how the silken trade was managed, and on their return to bring the silk worms with them, that so he might set up the manufacture in his own dominions. These monks, on their return, told him, that the silk worms could not be brought so long a journey, but understanding from them that their eggs might, and that from them the worm might be propagated, he sent them back a second time to bring him of those eggs; who having effected what they went about, and brought to Constantinople, on their return thither, great quantities of those eggs, from them have been propagated all the silk worms and silk trade, which have since that been there, or any where else in Europe. Till that time the ancients were so ignorant how silk was made, that it was a common notion among them, that it grew on the tops of trees. But since it hath been sufficiently made known, that though cotton be produced from trees, silk is no where made but by the web of the silk worm. For a long while silk was worn only by women, and it was thought a great instance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to have any part of his garments made of it; so that, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, as Tacitus tells us (*Annal. lib. 2, c. 33,*) a law was made, *ne vestes serica viros fœdaret, i. e.* That no man should defile or dishonour himself by wearing silken garments. When the stuff was all of silk, it was called *holosericum*; when the woof only was silk, and the warp of linen or woollen, or the warp only of silk, and the woof of linen or woollen, it was called *subsericum*. When afterwards it came into use for men to wear silk, it was at first only of the latter sort; that which was all silk was, for a long time, left wholly to the use of the women; so that it was reckoned by Lampridius as one of the infamous parts of Heliogabalus' character, that he was the first man that wore *holosericum*. *Videas de hac re plura apud Vossium in Etymologico, sub Voce, Sericum, et de Idolatria, lib. 4, c. 90, et Salmasium in notis ad Tertullianum de Pollio ad Solinum, et ad Historiam Augustam.*

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 12.

nius, the Roman prefect, got sufficient from thence, not only to supply the wants of all his own people, but also wherewith to relieve the necessities of his neighbours in Syria, who were under the same distress. And whereas most of the flocks of Judea were consumed by the drought, so that there was not wool in the land, for the clothing of the inhabitants against winter, he took care, that such quantities were imported from foreign countries, that every one, before the approach of the cold season, was provided with sufficient to fence him against all the severities of it; by which acts of charity and generosity, he not only reconciled unto him the affection of his people, with whom, till now, by reason of the severities and cruelties of his government, he stood upon very ill terms, but also made his name famous among all the neighbouring nations, gaining among them the reputation of a wise, gracious, and generous prince. But he was not of a temper long to hold this character among his own people; for the tyrannical mal-administrations of his government still continuing after this good deed, in the same excess as before, what he gained by the one was soon again lost by the other; and therefore he continued to make himself, to his life's end, the general odium and aversion of those over whom he reigned, and it was owing only to the protection and power of Augustus, and the Romans, that he was supported against it.

THE

Old and New Testaments

CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK IX.

AUGUSTUS with the beginning of this year entering into his tenth consulship,^a had a decree of the senate made in his behalf, which freed Anno 24.
Herod 16. him from the obligation of all laws, and set him above them all, with an absolute power to do all things in the government of the empire according to his arbitrary will and good pleasure; and many things else were decreed in his honour through the flattery of some, who courted his favour, and the fear of others, who dreaded his power.

Herod being now at peace and in full prosperity,^b set himself on the building of a stately palace on Mount Sion, which was the highest part of the city of Jerusalem, and made it a structure of that largeness and magnificence, that, in some manner, it exceeded herein even the temple itself. And it was more especially famous for two large and sumptuous apartments erected in it, the one of which he called Cæsareum, in honour of Augustus Cæsar, and the other Agrippæum, in honour of Agrippa, Augustus' principal favourite.

This same year,^c Herod furnished Augustus with five hundred men out of his guards, for the carrying on of an expedition against the southern Arabs. He^d

^a a Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 516.

^b b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 12; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 16.

^c c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 12. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 780.

^d d Joseph. ibid. Plin. lib. 6, c. 28. Strabo, lib. 2, p. 118; lib. 16, p. 780; 281, & lib. 17, p. 219. Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 516.

having heard of the wealth of those people, that they abounded in gold and silver and other riches, proposed either by treaty to make them his friends, and so open a way for commerce with them, or else by conquest to make them his subjects; and, could he compass either of them, he expected thereby much to augment the wealth and riches of his empire. And he had also this further view, that in case he should, either as friend or conqueror, gain a footing in that country, he should, through it, have an easy way open for the subduing of the Troglodites, their country being separated from the southern Arabia, only by the narrow straits now called the straits of Babelmandel, through which the Arabian gulf dischargeth itself into the Southern ocean. For, as the Arabs dwell on the eastern side of those straits, the Troglodites did then dwell over against them on the western side. Ælius Gallus, a Roman of the equestrian order, was the general sent on this expedition, for which Augustus furnished him ten thousand men; to these were added the five hundred from Herod abovementioned, and one thousand more that were brought him by Sylleus from Obodas, king of the Nabathean Arabs. This Obodas had succeeded Malchus in that kingdom, and Sylleus was his chief minister, and a person of great craft, vigour, and application. He knowing the country, undertook to be Gallus' guide in this expedition, and thereby made it miscarry, by betraying him in it. It was proposed to march through the country of the Nabatheans, and from thence to enter on this expedition; but Sylleus falsely informing Gallus, that there was no safe passage thither by land, this put him on building a fleet to pass thither by sea; and therefore, having provided one hundred and thirty transports at Cleopatris, a port at the bottom of the Arabian gulf, or Red sea, he there put his army on board them, and sailed to Leucocome, a port of the Nabatheans, lying on the eastern side of that sea. This being a very dangerous navigation, by reason of the many rocks and shelves that are in that part of the Arabian gulf, and Sylleus piloting him the worst way through it, he was fifteen days in the passage, and lost several of his ships in it; and, when he

was landed, all his army falling sick of a disease common in that country, he was forced to lie by all the remaining part of the summer, and the winter following to wait their recovery.

Early the next spring^e he set out from Leucocome in the expedition on which he was sent, and, after a march of six months southward, came Anno 28.
Herod 15. into those parts of Arabia where he intended, vanquishing in his march all that opposed him; but, through the difficulties of the way which Sylleus treacherously led him, the heat of the climate, and the unwholesomeness of the air, water, and herbs, of the country, he had by this time lost the better half of his army, and therefore was forced to return again without effecting any thing of what was designed, through want of sufficient strength to execute it. But by this time perceiving the treachery of Sylleus, he marched back under the conduct of other guides, and, by their assistance, returned in sixty days to the same parts of the Nabathean country from whence he had been six months in marching out, and there shipping his forces at the next port, called Negra, crossed the Arabian gulf in eleven days, and landed at Myos Hormus on the Egyptian side, and from thence, by the way of Coptus, led back the remainder of his army again to Alexandria, after having been two years on this expedition. The miscarrying of it being wholly owing to the treachery of Sylleus,^f he was at length for this, among other crimes then laid to his charge, publicly executed at Rome by the rods and axe of the lictor. But this was not till several years after; in the interim there will be occasions of speaking again of him more than once in the future series of this history.

While Gallus was in this expedition,^g Candace, queen of Ethiopia, invading the province of Thebais, in the Upper Egypt, with a great army, took Syena, and several other places on the borders, and carried

^e Strabo, lib. 2, p. 118. Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 516.

^f Strabo, lib. 16, p. 782.

^g Strabo, lib. 17, p. 820. Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 524. Plinius, lib. 6, c. 29.

the garrison soldiers into captivity; whereon Petronius, then prefect of Egypt, marched with an army against her, and, having vanquished her forces in battle, and driven them out of the country, pursued them into Ethiopia, and, having there pierced above eight hundred miles into the country, subdued all before him, taking all the cities that lay in his way, and among them Napata, the metropolis of the kingdom, which he destroyed, and from thence marched on, till at length, being able to proceed no further, by reason of the great deserts of sand, nor to stay there any longer, by reason of the excessive heats of the climate, he was forced to march back; and therefore, having put a garrison of four hundred men into Premnis, one of the strongest fortresses in Ethiopia, in order to keep footing in that country, and victualled it for two years, he returned to Alexandria, carrying all his captives with him; one thousand of the principal of them, among whom were the chief commanders of Candace's army, he sent to Augustus; the rest he sold on his return, being many thousands in number.

Phraates, king of Parthia, being again driven out of his kingdom by Tiridates,^h prevailed with the Scythians to bring him back with a great army; whereon Tiridates,ⁱ with the chiefs of his party, fled to Rome, to pray the assistance of Augustus, promising to hold the kingdom from him as his homager, in case he might be restored by his help. Phraates, hearing which way he was fled, sent ambassadors to Rome after him, there to obviate his designs, and to demand of Augustus the delivery of his rebel subjects to him, and the release of his son, whom Tiridates had put into his hands in the manner as above related. Augustus, having given them an hearing, answered them in the same manner as he had before at Antioch, that he would not deliver Tiridates into the hands of Phraates, nor give either of them any help against the other. However, that he might gratify both in something, he permitted Tiridates to live under his protection at Rome, ordering him there a maintenance out of the

^h Justin. lib. 42, c. 5.

ⁱ Justin. *ibid.* Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 519.

public treasury, whereby to subsist with plenty and honour; and he sent back to Phrahates his son, upon condition that he should restore all the captives and ensigns which the Parthians had taken from Crassus and Antony in their wars against them. This was then promised, but not performed, till Augustus came into Syria three years after, and, by the dread of his name, and the threats of a new war, induced him hereto.

At this time there being at Jerusalem a very beautiful young lady, called Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, the son of Boethus, an ordinary priest of that place, Herod^k fell in love with her, and took her to wife; but first, for the making of her a more suitable match for him, he made her father high priest of the Jews, instead of Jesus, the son of Phebes, whom he removed of purpose to make room for him. After this, he built a stately palace,^l at the distance of about seven miles from Jerusalem, in the place where he had formerly defeated the Parthians, and the Jews of the Asmonean party, when he fled from that city, on Antigonus' becoming master of it. This, from his own name, he called Herodium. It stood in a very pleasant and a very strong situation, on the top of an hill, from whence there was a prospect of all the country round. From this palace the hill declined all round with an equal and uniform descent, which made a very beautiful shew; and at the foot of it were soon built such a number of houses, as amounted to the proportion of a considerable city.

Augustus having been seized this year with a dangerous sickness, when nothing else could bring him any help,^m was cured by the use of the cold bath, and cooling potions prescribed him by Antonius Musa, the eminentest physician among the Romans of that age: and he had hereon great rewards and great honours decreed him by the senate. But a little after Marcellus falling sick, while he endeavoured to cure

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 12; lib. 18, c. 7.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 12; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 16.

^m Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 517. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 59. Plinius, lib. 19, c. 8; lib. 25, c. 7; lib. 29, c. 1.

him by the same method, he caused his death, which was much to the grief of Augustus: for he was the son of Octavia, his sister, by her first husband, and, being a young man of great hopes, Augustus had married his daughter to him, adopted him for his son, and intended him for his heir, in case he should have no son of his own; but he had the misfortune this year to lose him in the manner here mentioned. This is the Marcellus whose untimely death Virgil most ingeniously sets forth in the sixth book of his *Æneid*.

Herod having finished Samaria, which, from the name of Augustus, he called Sebaste, heⁿ began the building of another city at Straton's tower, on the sea coast of Palestine, which also, in honour of him, from his other name, he called Cæsarea. In the building and adorning hereof, he spent twelve years, and expended vast sums of money, whereby he made it a city of prime note in those parts, and the most convenient and safest port in all the coasts of Phœnicia. For, whereas before it was a very dangerous harbour, so that no ship could ride safe in it when the wind blew south-west, to remedy this, he ran out a mole in a circular form, which fenced the port against both the south and the west, and encompassed room enough for a great fleet to ride safe within against all wind and weather, leaving a passage into it only on the north, where the sea was less rough, and the harbour least exposed to storms from it. This work alone was of vast labour and expense: for it was built of stones brought from far, and of a very large size, they being fifty feet long, eighteen broad, and nine deep, some greater, some lesser, and the foundation was laid twenty fathom deep into the sea. When Judea was reduced into the form of a Roman province, this city was usually made the residence of him that was sent to govern it.

Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Herod by Mariamne, now growing up, their father^o sent them to Rome for their education, there providing a reception for them in the house of Pollio, an especial

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 13; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 16.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 13.

friend of his: but Augustus taking them into his particular care, assigned them apartments in his own palace; and further to express his friendship and favour to Herod, he gave him full power to leave the succession of his kingdom to which of his sons he should think fit; and moreover at the same time added Trachonitis,^p Auranitis,^q and Batanea, to his former dominions, which was done on this occasion. There was one Zenodorus,^r tetrarch of a territory^s lying between Trachonitis and Galilee, who had farmed from the president of Syria the provinces of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea, which had formerly been the principality of Lysanias,^t the son of Ptolemy, whom Antony put to death as hath been abovementioned. This person, not being contented with the honest gain of his farm (in which he had a great bargain,) to make the most of it that he could, went shares with a company of thieves, who had taken harbour in certain caves in the mountains of Trachonitis, and permitted them to rob all the country round, upon terms of sharing the plunder with them. This being a great grievance and mischief to the people of those parts, they complained of it to Varro, then president of Syria, who writing to Augustus about it, received orders from him at any rate to root out those robbers. But before those orders could be executed, Varro being recalled, the grievance and the complaint still continued; whereon Augustus,^u to provide an effectual cure for this evil, did put all the three provinces which Zenodorus had farmed into the hands of Herod, adding them to his former dominions, who forthwith marched thither with such forces as were necessary,^x broke into the dens of those thieves, and by killing a great number of them, and driving out the rest, soon cleared the country of them. Whereon Zenodorus, being

p These three districts, or toparchies, lay beyond the sea of Galilee, between that and Damascus, having for their boundary Mount Libanus on the north, and the country of Perea on the south.

q Auranitis is the same with Iturea, being another name for it.

r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 13; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 15.

s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 13.

t He is by Josephus called prince of Chalcis, from the city of Chalcis where he resided.

u Joseph. *ibid.*

x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 13.

deprived not only of his unrighteous gain, but also of his farm,^x went to Rome to make complaint against Herod; but not meeting with success in any of his accusations, he, on his return, excited the Gadarens to an attempt of giving him trouble; and accordingly they applied to Agrippa with complaints and accusations against him; for Agrippa had then the government of all the East conferred on him by Augustus. Agrippa, as hath been above related, was the chief favourite and prime confidant of Augustus; but now Julia, the daughter of Augustus, being grown up, and married to Marcellus, the son of Octavia, Augustus' sister, the old favourite grew jealous of the son-in-law, so that they could not bear each other. Hereon Augustus,^y to put an end to these differences, sent Agrippa out of the way, committing to his charge^z all the provinces of the East that lay beyond the Egean sea; and he taking up his residence at Mitylene in the isle of Lesbos, from thence by his lieutenants governed Lesser Asia, Syria, and all the other countries that were within his commission. As soon as Herod heard of Agrippa's settling there,^a he sailed thither to make a visit to him, and thereby further cultivated the friendship that had been before between them. Immediately on his departure^a came the Gadarens thither with their accusations against him in a very unlucky time for their affair. For they then found Agrippa, by reason of the endearments that had been revived between them in the conversation of the late visit, so far prepossessed in favour of Herod, that having no ear open to any complaints against him, he caused these accusers of him to be all clapped in chains, and sent them thus bound into Judea to be there delivered unto him. Herod, thinking to sweeten them by clemency, dismissed them without any harm; and this for some time quieted the troubles which they and Zenodorus would have raised against him.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 13.

^y Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 518. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 66. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2, c. 93.

^z Joseph. ibid. Dion Cassius, ibid. Velleius Paterculus, ibid.

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 13.

Augustus intending a progress into the East, on his arrival in Sicily, in his way thither,^b sent for Agrippa to come to him, and having given him in marriage Julia his daughter, being now become a widow by the death of Marcellus her former husband, sent him to Rome, there to take care of the affairs in the West, while he himself should be absent in the East. Mecenas^c chiefly advised this match, telling Augustus, that, having made Agrippa so great as he then had, he had nothing else to choose, but either to make him his son-in-law, or put him to death. To make way for this match, Agrippa was forced to divorce his former wife, though daughter to Octavia, the sister of Augustus, who was afterward^d married to Antonius, the son of Antony the triumvir. After this^e Augustus sailed from Sicily into Greece, and, having there settled all matters, passed into the isles, and wintered at Samos.^e

While Augustus lay at this place, there came thither to him ambassadors from Candace,^f queen of Ethiopia. It hath been above related, that Petronius, on his return from his late inroad into Ethiopia, had left a garrison in Premnis, a strong fortress in that country. In the beginning of this year^g Candace sent an army to besiege it. Whereon Petronius, coming to the assistance of his garrison, raised the siege, and forced Candace to sue for peace. On the coming of her ambassadors to him for this purpose, they were referred by him to Cæsar; but their answer being, that they knew not who Cæsar was, he sent messengers with them to conduct them to Augustus, who finding him at Samos, there obtained from him the peace which they desired, and then returned again into Ethiopia.

Early the next spring Augustus^h passed from Samos into Lesser Asia, and having settled all matters there, continued his progress through

Anno 21.
Herod 17.

Anno 20.
Herod 18.

^b Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 424. Velleius Patercul. lib. 2, c. 93.

^c Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 525.

^d Plutarch. in Antonio.

^e Dion Cassius, *ibid.*

^f Strabo, lib. 17, p. 821. Dion Cassius, *ibid.*

^g Strabo et Dion Cassius, *ibid.*

^h Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 525.

that countryⁱ into Syria, and came to Antioch. On his arrival there, Zenodorus with delegates from the Gadarens,^k addressed to him with their old complaints against Herod, hoping to have a more favourable hearing from him than they had from Agrippa. They accused him of tyranny, violence, and rapine, and also of sacrilege, in plundering and violating temples; and Augustus went so far into them, as to appoint a day for Herod, who was then present at Antioch, to make his defence; in the hearing of which he was treated with so much tenderness and favour, as made the Gadarens despair of their cause, so that, the night following, some of them drowned themselves, others cast themselves down precipices, and the rest did cut their throats, or otherwise made themselves away, through fear of being delivered to Herod; and Zenodorus did the same; for having taken poison, it corroded his guts, and cast him into a violent dysentery, of which he died that same night. Hereon Augustus looking on their self execution to be self condemnation, and a clear acknowledgment of guilt on their side, absolved Herod, and would admit no more such accusations to be brought against him. And to make him amends for the trouble he had been put to by Zenodorus and his Gadarens, he gave him the tetrarchy of Zenodorus; and for his greater honour joined him in commission with the president of Syria, as his procurator in that province, ordaining that nothing should be done in the affairs of it, without his knowledge and advice; and moreover, at his request, gave to Pheroras his brother a tetrarchy in those parts. In acknowledgment of all these favours, Herod built unto him, in the lands of Zenodorus, near the mountain Paneas, (at the foot of which is the fountain of the river Jordan) a sumptuous temple, all of white marble. By which idolatrous flattery, and other like compliances with heathen usages, he further alienated from him all those Jews

ⁱ Dion Cassius, *ibid.* Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 15, c. 13, et de *Bello Judaico*, lib. 1, c. 15.

^k Joseph. *ibid.*

that were zealous for their law and the religion of their forefathers.

Phrabates, king of Parthia, on Augustus' coming into Syria,¹ sent ambassadors to him to pray his friendship. For being then upon ill terms with his people, whom he had much alienated from him by his tyranny and cruelty, he dreaded a foreign war; and he had reason at that time to fear it from Augustus. For whereas Augustus had three years before released to him one of his sons (whom he had in captivity at Rome) upon promise that he would send back to him all the prisoners and ensigns which the Parthians had taken from the Romans in their wars with Crassus and Antony, he had not as yet discharged himself of that obligation; that therefore this might not be a cause of war against him, he now not only sent back all those captives and ensigns, but also yielded to all other terms of peace which were then required of him, and gave four of his sons, with their wives and children, in hostage for the performance of them. Whereupon Justin remarks,^m that Augustus did more herein by the greatness of his name, than any other commander could do by war. But Tacitusⁿ tells us, that Phrabates was induced hereto not so much by the fear of Augustus, as by the diffidence which he had of his own people; and what Strabo^o and Josephus^p tell us is agreeable hereto. For, laying both of them together, the matter appears to have been as followeth. A very beautiful Italian woman,^q called Thermusa, having been formerly sent by Augustus to Phrabates for a present, she first became his concubine, and afterwards, on her bringing him a son, was married to him, and advanced to be his queen; and having in this station gained an absolute ascendant over him, made use of it for the securing of the succession of the crown of Parthia to her son; in order whereto, she proposed to Phrabates the putting of his other sons, which were four in all, into the hands of

¹ Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 525, 526. Strabo, lib. 6, p. 288; lib. 16, p. 748. Livii Epitome, lib. 139. L. Florus, lib. 4, c. 12. Orosius, lib. 6, c. 21. Justin, lib. 42, c. 5. Velleius Patercul. lib. 2, c. 91.

^m Justin, lib. 42, c. 5.

ⁿ Annal. lib. 2, c. 1.

^o Lib. 6, p. 288.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 13.

^q Joseph. *ibid.* Strabo, lib. 16, p. 748, 749.

the Romans: and Phrahates not thinking himself safe against his subjects, as long as there were at hand any other of the race of Arsaces of a fit age to be put in his place, on this consideration, readily complied herewith; and accordingly, when matters were made up between him and Augustus, and hostages were demanded for the securing of the terms of that agreement, he delivered these his four sons into the hands of Augustus for this purpose, who carried them to Rome, where they remained many years; and Thermusa's son, who was called Phrahates, was bred up for the succeeding of him in the kingdom. The Parthians^r were so superstitiously addicted to the race of Arsaces, that Phrahates well knew they would bear him, how great soever their hatred to him was, as long as they had not another of that family of a fit age to be set up to reign in his place; and for this reason it was, that he so readily yielded up his sons into the hands of the Romans, that being removed so far out of the way, they might create him no danger, nor give him any jealousy. But at length his destruction came from what he thus projected for his safety. For,^s as soon as Phrahates was grown up, Thermusa, not having patience any longer to wait for the vacancy, that was ready in a short time naturally to happen, unnaturally poisoned her husband to make room for her son the sooner to succeed him. But this met with that disappointment which so wicked an act deserved. For the people not bearing so wicked a parricide, rose in a tumult against him, and drove him into banishment, wherein he perished; but it was not till some years after that this happened.

And at the same time that Augustus made peace with Parthia he settled also the affairs of Armenia. It hath been above related, how that Artabazes, king of Armenia, being taken prisoner by Antony, and carried to Alexandria, Artaxias his son succeeded him. He having^t made himself grievous to his subjects by an oppressive and tyrannical reign, they accused him before Augustus, and desired to have Tigranes, his

^r Strabo, *ibid.* p. 749.

^s Joseph. *ibid.*

^t Dion Cassius, *lib.* 53, p. 526. Taciti *Annal.* *lib.* 2, c. 31.

younger brother, to reign over them in his stead. Hereon Augustus sent Tiberius, the son of Livia by her former husband, with an army to expel Artaxias, and place Tigranes on the throne in his stead; but Artaxias being slain by his own people before he arrived, and Tigranes thereon admitted to succeed without any opposition, Tiberius had no opportunity by any military action of gaining honour by his commission, which was the first he was employed in.

Augustus,^u toward the end of the summer, returning out of Syria, was attended by Herod to the sea shore, where he embarked; and from thence sailed back to Samos, and there resided all the ensuing winter in the same manner as he had the former; and, in consideration hereof, on his departure thence the next spring, he gave the Samians their liberty, and made them a free city, in reward of the accommodations with which he was there furnished among them.

Herod, on his return to Jerusalem,^x finding the people much offended because of the many breaches he had made upon their law and religion by his frequent compliances with the idolatrous usages of the Greeks and Romans, was put to difficulties to avoid the ill consequences of it. For, though he endeavoured to excuse himself, by alleging the necessity he was under of pleasing Augustus and the Romans in this matter, this gave no satisfaction, but discontents on this account grew to a great height against him among the generality of the people. And therefore, to prevent the ill effects hereof, he prohibited all meetings at feasts and clubs, and all other assemblies of many together; and he had spies in all quarters to bring him constant intelligence how all matters went; and he would often himself go out in disguise, that he might hear and observe how the people stood affected towards him; and by these means making discovery of all that had ill designs against him, and thereon severely treating such as were guilty, he made a shift to secure himself, and keep all quiet.

^u Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 527. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 13.

^x Joseph. *ibid.*

^y Strabo, lib. 15, p. 719, 720. Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 527.

And for this end, at the same time, he would have imposed an oath of fidelity on all his subjects. But Hillel and Shammai, with all their followers of the Pharisaical sect, and also all the Essenes refusing to take it, he was forced to let it drop; only those who had rendered themselves suspected, were forced to comply herewith, for the avoiding of the severity with which he would otherwise have treated them.

While Augustus lay at Samos,^y there came thither to him a second embassy from the king of India to desire the establishment of a league and friendship with him, to which purpose he wrote him a letter in the Greek language, telling him therein that though he reigned over six hundred kings, yet he had such value for the friendship of Augustus, by reason of the great fame which he had heard of him, that he sent this embassy on so long a journey of purpose to desire it of him. To which letter he subscribed by the name of Porus king of India. The six hundred kings whom he boasted to reign over, were the rajas, or petty princes who governed the kingdom under him, several of whose descendants there remain even to this day; who paying tribute and homage to the great mogul, govern their subjects at home with sovereign authority. Of the ambassadors that first set out from India on this embassy, three only reached the presence of Augustus, the others that were in commission with them died by the way. Of the three surviving, one was Zarmarus a Gymnosorhist, who following Augustus to Athens, there burned himself in his presence, in like manner as Calanus,^z another of that sect, had formerly done in the presence of Alexander; it being the usage and manner of that sort of men, when they thought they had lived long enough, to pass out of life by thus casting themselves alive upon their funeral piles. Among the presents which they brought were several tigers, and these were the first of this sort of wild beasts that had been seen either by the Greeks or

^y Strabo, lib. 15, p. 719, 720. Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 527.

^z Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 7. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. Strabo, lib. 15, p. 686.

Romans. After this, Augustus^a returning to Rome, was there received with great honour; his bringing back the ensigns and prisoners that had been taken in the Parthian wars, being what the Romans valued beyond the rate of the greatest victory. And therefore a temple was erected in the capitol in commemoration of it, which was dedicated to Mars the Revenger; and there the recovered ensigns were hung up. And Augustus valued himself so much upon this matter, that many of his coins still remaining bear the inscription *Signis Receptis*, and the poets of his time made it the common argument^b of their flatteries towards him.

Herod being now in the full enjoyment of peace and plenty, and having finished his buildings at Sebaste, and far advanced those at Cæsarea,^c formed a design of new building the temple at Jerusalem; whereby he thought he should not only reconcile to him the affections of the Jews, but also erect a monument of lasting honour to his own name. The temple built after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, fell much short of that of Solomon's in the height, the magnificence, and other particulars; and five hundred years being elapsed since its erection, several decays had happened to it, both by the length of time, and also by the violence of enemies. For the temple, by reason of its situation, being the strongest part of Jerusalem, whenever the inhabitants were pressed by war, they always made their last refuge thither; and whenever they did so, some of its building suffered by it. For the amending and repairing of all those defects and decays, Herod designed to build the whole temple anew; and, in a general assembly of the people, offered to them what he intended. But when he found them startled at the proposal, and under apprehensions, lest that, when he pulled down the old temple, he should not be able to build them a new one; to deliver them from this fear, he told them, that he would not take down the old

^a Dion Cassius, lib. 53, p. 526—528.

^b Ovidius in quinto libro Fastorum. Horatius, lib. 4, oda. 15.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 14.

temple, till he had gotten all the materials ready for the immediate erecting of a new one in its place; and accordingly he forthwith set himself to make all manner of preparations for it, employing therein one thousand waggons for the carrying of the stones and timber, ten thousand artificers to fit all things for the building, and one thousand priests skilful in all parts of architecture, to supervise and direct them in the work. And by these means, in two years time, he had got all things ready for the building. And then, and not before, did he pull down the old temple to the very foundations, to make room for the erecting a new one in its place. Josephus tells us, Herod made this proposal in the eighteenth year of his reign, that is, from the death of Antigonus, which happened not till about the midsummer after he was taken prisoner; and therefore, according to this reckoning, the nineteenth year of Herod not beginning till about the midsummer of the nineteenth year before Christ, the six first months of that year did not belong to the eighteenth year of Herod; and the passover, at which was the greatest assembly of the Jews, falling within the compass of those six months, then, it is most probable, this proposal was made.

Ælius Gallus succeeding Petronius in the prefecture of Egypt, made a progress into the upper parts of that country, as far as Syene, and the borders of Ethiopia, in which Strabo the geographer accompanied him; and, at Thebes,^d he tells us, he saw the statue of Memnon, which, according to the poets,^e saluted the morning sun every day at its first rising with a harmonious sound; and he saith, that he heard that sound on his being on the place one morning; but professeth not to know the cause from whence it proceeded, but suspected it to come from some of the by-standers. He was born^f at Amasia in Pontus, and published his geography in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius, being then a very old man. It was a most excellent work, the ancients

^d Strabo, lib. 17, p. 816.

^e Juvenal. satyra 15. Dionysius in Perieg. v. 249, aliique.

^f Vossius de Hist. Græcis, lib. 2, c. 6.

have scarce left us any thing more valuable. For it is written with great judgment and care, he having travelled almost over all the places which he describes, and his descriptions are so exact, that most of the places may be known by them even to this day. He also wrote an history, which Josephus quotes, and hath some passages out of it; but, excepting some few such fragments dispersed in other authors, that work is now entirely lost.

Herod having, after two years preparation, made ready all materials for the new building of the temple, pulled down the old edifice, and Anno 17.
Herod 21. began the erecting of his new one, just forty-six years before the first passover of Christ's personal ministry; at which time the Jews told John, (ii, 20,) "Forty and six years hath this temple been in building."^g For although then forty-six years had passed from the time this building was begun, and in nine years and an half it was made fit for the divine service, yet a great number of labourers and artificers were there still continued at work, for the carrying on of the out-buildings, all the time of our Saviour's being here on earth, and for some time after, till the coming of Gessius Florus, to be governour of Judea,^h when eighteen thousand of them, being discharged at one time, after that for want of work, they began those mutinies and seditions, which at last drew on the destruction of Jerusalem, and the temple with it.

This year Julia, the daughter of Augustus,ⁱ brought Agrippa a second son, called Lucius; the eldest, called Caius,^k was born three years before. They being the grandsons of Augustus, as soon as Lucius was born,^k he adopted them both for his sons, and declared them the heirs of his empire. For this he thought would best conduce to the settling of his affairs, and the quashing of all such treacherous designs, as otherwise, for the usurping of his power, might be contrived or imagined against his person.

^g Thus the text ought to be rendered.

^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20, c. 8.

ⁱ Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 533.

^k Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 526.

Herod^l sailed into Italy, there to pay his respects to Augustus, and to see his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, whom he had sent to Rome to be educated. In his way thither,^m he stopped in Greece, and was present at the 191st Olympiad, and presided therein; where finding those shows were much sunk in their credit and esteem, by reason that the poverty of the Elians disabled them from setting them forth in their usual pomp and splendour, he settled a constant revenue on them, for the restoring of them to their former solemnity and honour: in acknowledgment whereof, they granted him the honour of a president in those games as long as he should live. On his arrival at Rome,ⁿ he was there received with great honour and kindness by Augustus; from whom having received his sons now fully disciplined and instructed in all the Roman exercises and literature, he returned with them into Judea, and a little after^o provided them with suitable matches, marrying Alexander, the eldest of them, to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the other to Berenice, the daughter of Salome, his sister. By the comeliness of their persons, the agreeableness of their behaviour, and other laudable qualifications, which they were accomplished with,^p they drew to them the love and esteem of all the Jews; but Salome, and such others as had been her accomplices in procuring the death of Mariamne, their mother, fearing their revenge, did all that in them lay, by evil artifices, to work their destruction also; and at last accomplished it, as will be in its due place related.

In the interim the work of the temple went on; and,^q after a year and an half, that part which was most properly the temple (that is, that which contained the holy place, the *holy of holies*, and the porch, through which was the passage leading to both) was

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 1.

^m Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 16, et Antiq. lib. 16, c. 9.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. ibid.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 2.

^p Idem, lib. 16, c. 1.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 14.

wholly finished; and after eight years more all the rest was built which Herod proposed.

Augustus having sent Agrippa again into the East, as soon as Herod heard of his arrival in the province of Proper Asia,^r he went thither to him; and having prevailed with him to accept of an invitation, which he earnestly made him to come into Judea, on his arrival there, he entertained him and all his attendants with all manner of honour, magnificence, and sumptuous fare; and, having shewn him all his new built cities, and castles, as Sebaste, Cæsarea, Alexandrium, Herodium, and Hyrcania, he led him in the last place to Jerusalem. On his approach to it, he was at some distance met by all the people in their festival apparel, and conducted into the city by a solemn procession and loud acclamations. After some stay there he offered an hecatomb at the temple, and feasted all the people; and then hastening to the port, where his fleet lay, he sailed back again into Ionia before the winter came on.

Anno 15.
Herod 23.

Asander, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, being dead,^s left his kingdom to Dynamis his wife, in whose right he had held it, she being the daughter of Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates. One Scribonius, pretending to be a grandson of Mithridates, and to have a grant from Augustus to succeed Asander, took Dynamis to wife, and seized the country. Whereon Agrippa sent Polemon (whom the Romans had made king of Pontus and the Lesser Armenia) to make war upon him; but, before his arrival, the Bosphorans having discovered Scribonius to be a cheat in all his pretensions, had put him to death. However they would not submit to Polemon, but though they had been vanquished in battle by him on his first coming into the country, yet still stood out against him; which brought Agrippa upon them with all his army; and a dangerous war ensued. Herod, hearing of this,^t hastened to the assistance of Agrippa with a fleet and army, thereby further to

Anno 14.
Herod 24.

^r Idem, lib. 16, c. 2.

^s Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 538.

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 3.

ingratiate himself with him, which he fully effected by this opportunity. For, coming up with him at Sinope in Pontus, when he was in some distress for want of such a supply as Herod brought him, nothing could be more acceptable to him than his arrival thither with it at that time. With this assistance Agrippa^u soon reduced the Bosphorans to a thorough submission. Whereon Dynamis, being given to Polemon to wife, he had with her the kingdom of Bosphorus conferred on him, and by the favour of Augustus, who confirmed the grant, held it with that of Pontus, and the Lesser Armenia, which he had before. He had been a long time a faithful ally to the Romans, and had these kingdoms given him for the reward of the many important services he had done them. He had not the whole kingdom of Pontus, but only that part of it which lay next Cappadocia. This from him was afterwards, for distinction's sake, called Pontus Polemoniacus;^x in which kingdom his son^y of the same name afterward succeeded him, by the favour of Caligula. After matters were thus settled in Bosphorus,^z Agrippa returned through Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia, unto Ephesus in Ionia. Herod accompanying him all the way thither, procured many favours of him in behalf of several of the people of those parts, who prayed his mediation. And, on his coming into Ionia,^a he had there an especial occasion to solicit him for his favour in behalf of the Jews that had been settled in those parts. It hath been above related, how Antiochus the Great had planted two thousand families of the Babylonish Jews in Phrygia, Lydia, and other provinces there adjoining. These being increased to a great number, and spread all over Lesser Asia, and the isles, they were maligned and oppressed by the other inhabitants among whom they dwelt, so that they would not permit them to live according to their law and religion, or suffer them to enjoy the immunities and privileges which had in that behalf been formerly granted to them, first by the

^u Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 538.

^x Justin. in Novel. 28.

^y Dion Cassius, lib. 59, p. 649.

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 3.

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 4.

kings of Syria, and afterwards by the Romans. Herod, on their application to him, undertook their cause, and solicited it so effectually with Agrippa, that he obtained all for them that they desired, all their grievances being redressed, and all their immunities and privileges restored and confirmed to them in as ample a manner as they had at any time before been in possession of them. After this Agrippa passed over to Samos, and Herod^b returned again into Judea. On his arrival at Jerusalem, having assembled the people together, he related to them the successes of his journey, and what he had done and obtained for the Jews of Lesser Asia; and then, the more to ingratiate himself with them, he remitted to them one fourth part of their taxes, which was accepted with great rejoicing and thankfulness by them.

Lepidus being dead, who had borne the office of pontifex maximus, or high priest of Rome, Augustus took that office to himself,^c as did all his successors in the empire after him, as well Christians as heathen, till the time of Gratian, who succeeded his father Valentinian, in the year after Christ 375. He, being a zealous Christian,^d thought it inconsistent with his religion to bear as much as the title of high priest in heathen rites, and for this reason first refused it; and all the rest that afterwards succeeded him in the Roman empire following his example, did the same.

As soon as Augustus had entered on this office,^e he set himself on the reforming of many things in the matters which were thereby put under his care. And he first began with examining into the prophetic books which then went abroad. For a great number of these being at this time every where spread abroad among the people, created great disturbances, and raised many vain hopes and fears in the minds of men, according as they were interpreted for or against what was then uppermost in the government. All these Augustus called in, and caused most of them, to the number of two

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 5.

^c Sueton. in Octavio, c. 3. Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 540.

^d Zosimus, lib. 4.

^e Sueton. *ibid.*

Anno 13.
Herod 25.

thousand volumes, to be burned as spurious, reserving only those which bore the name of some of the sibyls for their authors. And these also he subjected to a strict examination, and retained of them none other than such as were on this trial judged genuine; the rest he committed to the same flames as the former. Those that were judged genuine he put into two golden cabinets, and laid them up in the temple of Apollo, ^f which he had built in the palace, placing them there under the pedestal on which the image of that heathen deity was there erected. These sibylline oracles having been of great repute in the old heathen world, and also often appealed to by the ancient writers of the Christian church, it is proper that here I give some account of them, and also of those by whom they are said to have been delivered.

The sibyls were women of ancient times, ^g said to have been endued with a prophetic spirit, and to have delivered oracles foreshewing the fates and destinies of kingdoms and states. We have, in the writings of the ancients, mention made ^h of ten of them, the eldest of which being named Sibylla, ⁱ all others of the same sex, who afterwards pretended to have the like fatidical spirit and power, were from her called Sibyls; the eminentest of which were the ten I have mentioned; and of these the most noted was she whom the Romans called Sibylla Cumæa, and others Erythræa; for she was ^k one and the same sibyl who had both these names. She was born at Erythræ in Ionia, and therefore was by the Greeks called Erythræa; but, having removed from Erythræ to Cumæ in Italy, and there delivered all her oracles, she was from thence by the Romans and Italians called Cumæa. The place at Cumæ where she lived, and from whence she is said to have given out her oracles, was a cave, or subterraneous vault, digged out of the main rock. Justin

^f Servius in Virgillii Æneid. lib. 6, v. 69.

^g Videas de eis Opsopæum, Salmasium in Exercitationibus ad Solinum, p. 75, 76, &c. Blondellum de Sibyllis, Montacutium, aliosque.

^h Lactantius de Falsa Religione, lib. 1, c. 6.

ⁱ Salmasius, ibid. p. 80.

^k Aristotel. de Admirandis. Servius in Virgillii Æneid. lib. 6, v. 321.

Martyr,^l who had been upon the place, speaking of it, and the sibyl which there prophesied, tells us as followeth.^m "This sibyl, they say, being a Babylonian by descent, and the daughter of Berosus, who wrote the Chaldaic history, came, I know not how, into Campania, and there delivered her oracles in a city called Cumæ, situated at the distance of six miles from Baiæ. I having been upon the place, did there see a large chapel or oratory, which was all hewn out of the main rock, a work great and wonderful. In which chapel, as the inhabitants made report unto me, according as they had it by ancient traditions from their forefathers, the sibyl gave forth her oracles. In the middle of the chapel they shewed me three hollow places hewn out of the same rock, in which, being filled with water, they told me she used to wash herself, and that then, after having put on her garment, she retired into the innermost cell of that chapel, which was also hewn out of the same rock; and there having settled herself upon an high advanced seat in the middle of that cell, from thence uttered and gave forth her oracles." Thus far Justin Martyr of this vault. Onuphrius writes, ⁿ that it continued to be seen many hundred years after, until the year of our Lord 1539, in which all Campania having been terribly shaken with an earthquake, at Puteoli, huge mountains of sand, gravel, and slime, were then cast up from the bottom of the sea, which totally overwhelmed and utterly ruined this chapel of the Cumæan sibyl. The same Onuphrius tells us, that, about nine years after, that is, in the year of our Lord 1548, having been upon the place, and made diligent inquiry of the inhabitants, he found, that, till that earthquake, every thing in that vault was exactly as Justin had described it; but that then it was utterly destroyed. But travellers^o are there still shewn a vault, which they call the grotto of the sibyl even to this day.

^l He wrote his first apology for the Christian religion, A. D. 141.

^m In Cohortatione ad Græcos.

ⁿ In libro de Sibyllis et Carminibus Sibyllinis.

^o See Sandys, Lassel, and others.

Of the time when this sibyl lived there are various opinions. Justin Martyr, in saying^p that she was by descent a Babylonian, and the daughter of Berosus the historian, puts her below the time of Alexander. No doubt he mistook her for Athenais, the second sibyl,^q which was called the Erythrean, who lived about that time; but she never came to Cumæ in Italy. Virgil^r makes her to have lived at Cumæ in the time of the Trojan war, and to have been contemporary with Æneas; and others place her in the time of Tarquin, the last king of Rome. These last found their opinion upon the supposal, that it was she herself that brought the books of her prophecies to that king; but this is nowhere said. The story which they tell us of this matter is as followeth.

While Tarquin the second of that name reigned at Rome,^s there came a certain woman unto him of a foreign country, with nine books, containing the oracles of the sibyls, which she offered to sell to him, demanding for them three hundred pieces of gold. But Tarquin refusing to give that price for them, she burnt three of the nine, and then offered him the remaining six at the same price, at which demand she being thought to be out of her wits, was rejected with scorn and laughter; whereon she burnt three others of them, and then offering him the remaining three, persisted still to demand the same price for these as she first had for all the nine. At which strange procedure Tarquin being moved, and thinking that there might be something in it more than ordinary, sent for the augurs to consult with them about it; who, on their examining into the matter, told him, that they found, by certain signs, that what he had despised was a divine gift; that it was a great loss and damage that he had not bought all the nine books that were first offered him; and therefore pressed him to give the woman for the remaining three the price which she

^p Justin Martyr in *Cohortatione ad Græcos*.

^q Strabo, lib. 13, p. 645.

^r *Æneid*. lib. 6.

^s Dionysius Halicarnas. lib. 4. Aulus Gellius, lib. 1, c. 19. Lactantius *de Falsa Religione*, lib. 1, c. 6. Servius in *Virgilium* ad lib. 6, v. 72.

asked. Whereon the money being paid, and the books delivered to Tarquin, the woman gave him strict charge to keep them safely, as containing oracles relating to the future state of Rome; and after that she disappeared, and was no more seen. Hereon Tarquin, putting these books into a stone coffer, laid them up in a vault under ground in the temple of Jupiter in the capitol, and appointed two of the principal of the nobility to have the keeping of them, with strict charge not to divulge them, or suffer any other besides themselves to have the perusal of them, or on any occasion whatsoever as much as in the least to look into them; which was so strictly required,^t that Marcus Attilius, one of the first to whose custody these books were committed, having given liberty to Petronius Sabinus to take a copy of these books, he was, for this breach of his trust, sown up in a sack and cast into the river, which was a punishment among the Romans that never else used to be inflicted, save only on parricides.

After the dissolution of the regal power, the commonwealth continued the same regard to these books, and craftily made them a main engine of state in the ensuing government for the quieting of the people in all disturbances that ever happened among them. For, whenever any great misfortune befell them, any prodigies appeared to fright them, or any other accident or occasion made a ruffle or disorder among the people, these books were ordered to be consulted, and the keepers of them always brought forth such an answer as served the purpose; and, in many difficulties, the governours of that state helped themselves this way. And, therefore, there was nothing among the Romans which they kept with a more strict and sacred care than these books, that thereby the use of them might be made the better to answer the end designed. For they always chose the keepers of them out of the chief of the nobility, assigned them this office for term of life, and exempted them from all the burdens of the state, both military and civil, as men wholly consecrated to this one

^t Dionysius Halicarnas. lib. 4. Valerius Max. lib. 1, c. 1, sec. 13.

thing only. These at first were only two,^u afterwards they were augmented to ten, and after that again to fifteen. None were allowed to look into these books, save these only; and not they neither, but when, on an exigency of the state, they were ordered so to do by a decree of the senate. These books^x were thus carefully kept, till the civil wars of Sylla and Marius, when the capitol being accidentally set on fire, and burned down to the ground, these books were burned with it. This happened while Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus^y and Caius Norbanus Flaccus were consuls at Rome, in the year before Christ 83. But seven years after the capitol being again rebuilt,^z Caius Scribonius Curio, being then consul, made a motion in the senate about restoring the sibylline oracles. The use of them, for the purposes abovementioned, having been found very beneficial to the commonwealth in cases of public difficulties, it was resolved by no means to be without them, were it possible they could be any way again retrieved. And therefore the senate having taken this matter into their consideration, and understanding that there were none of these oracles then preserved at Cumæ, where that sibyl prophesied, whose books were burned, but that there were some of them at Erythræ in Ionia, where she was born, they^a sent thither P. Gabinus, M. Otacilius, and Lucius Valerius, three ambassadors from their body, to take copies of them, and bring them to Rome; who having there gathered together, from the papers of several private persons, about one thousand verses in the Greek language, pretended to be the prophecies and oracles of this and other sibyls, came back with them to Rome. And at the same time^a inquiry being also made at

^u When they were only two, they were called Duumviri, when ten, they were called Decemviri, and when fifteen Quindecimviri. They were first made ten in the year of Rome 388, (which was the year before Christ 366) and fifteen on the restoration of the capitol, after it had been burned, and the laying up of a new collection of sibylline oracles in it, A. D. 76.

^x Dionysius Halicarnas. lib. 4. Plutarch. in Sylla. Appian. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. 1.

^y Taciti Hist. lib. 3, c. 72. Appian. ibid. Julius Obsequens de Prodig.

^z Lactantius de Falsa Religione, lib. 1, c. 6, et de Ira Dei, c. 22, et de Falsa Sapiencia, c. 17.

^a Lactantius, ibid. Tacitus in Annalibus, lib. 6, c. 12. Dionysius Halicarnas. ibid.

Samos, Ilium, and other cities in Greece, Sicily, Africa, and Italy, for the like oracles and prophecies of the sibyls, great numbers that pretended to be such were gotten together, and laid up in the capitol, to supply the place of those that were burned. But there was this great difference between the sibylline books that were burned with the capitol and those that were afterwards put in their place, that whereas the former having never been in any other hands than those to whose custody they had been committed, were vulgarly known to none, it was otherwise as to the latter. For they having been in the hands of the vulgar in all places where they were collected before they were brought to Rome, were still, after that collection, vulgarly known as before, and much more so, because the reputation which the Romans gave them, by making this collection of them, made them the more to be inquired after, and the more to be dispersed; whereby it came to pass, that of all this collection laid up in the capitol, there was scarce any one prophecy or oracle of which there were not copies in private hands; and from them Virgil had that sibylline prophecy of the coming of Christ, and the restoring of justice, righteousness, and blessedness, to the world by him, which he hath set forth in his fourth eclogue; and from them came also the many other prophecies which at this time went abroad of the same import. But the use which the Romans proposed to make of these oracles being much defeated by their being thus vulgarly known, a law was made,^b that all that had any copies of them should bring them in to the pretor of the city; and all were prohibited, under pain of death, to retain any of them. But, notwithstanding, many that had transcripts of these oracles still privately keeping them in their hands, and their number increasing by new forgeries made of them, Augustus, on his taking on him the high priesthood of Rome, revived the law;^c whereon so many copies of these pretended prophecies being brought in as amounted to a great number of volumes,

^b Tacitus in *Annal.* lib. 6, c. 12. Justin Martyr in *secunda Apologia Christianis.*

^c Tacitus, *ibid.* Suetonius in *Octavio*, c. 31.

he ordered them all strictly to be examined, and, having burned and destroyed all that were disapproved, to the number abovementioned, deposited the rest for the use of the state. These afterwards Tiberius^d caused to be examined over again, and burned many more of them, preserving only such as were of moment, and found worthy of approbation, for that service of the state for which they were originally intended. And to these, as long as Rome remained heathen, great recourse was made. For, about this time, on the coming of Christ our Saviour, the great Oracle of all Truth,^e all other oracles ceasing, the sibylline prophecies, and the sortes Virgilianæ, the sortes Prenestinæ, with some other like foolish inventions for divination, were the only oracles they had to consult. And in this use the sibylline prophecies continued, till the year of our Lord 339, when they were utterly destroyed. For, not long before that time, a prophecy being^f given out by the heathen Romans, pretended to be taken from the sibylline writings, which imported, that Peter, having by magic founded the Christian religion to last for the term of three hundred and sixty-five years only, it was, at the end of this term, wholly to vanish, and be no more professed in the world; and this term expiring in the year of our Lord 398 (for that was just three hundred and sixty-five years after Christ's ascension into heaven, and the first establishing of the Christian religion thereupon,) Honorius, the Roman emperor, taking the advantage hereof to convict these writings of manifest forgery and imposture, & ordered them all to be destroyed; and accordingly, the next year after (that is, in the year of our Lord 399,) Stilico, by virtue of a decree from him, burned all those prophetic writings, and pulled down and utterly demolished the temple of Apollo, in which they were repositied. And the same year^h became fatal to many other heathen temples in Africa and elsewhere through the Roman empire.

^d Dion Cassius, lib. 57, p. 615. Tacitus, *ibid*.

^e Plutarch. de Oraculorum Defectu.

^f August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 18, c. 53, 54.

^g Rutilii Itinerarium, lib. 2.

^h Augustin, de Civitate Dei, lib. 18, c. 54.

There is still preserved, in eight books of Greek verse, a collection of oracles pretended to be the sibylline. This collection must have been made between the year of our Lord 133 and the year 167. It could not be earlier, for thereinⁱ mention is made of the next succession of Adrian, that is, Antoninus Pius, who did not succeed him till the year 138: and it could not be later, because Justin Martyr in his writings several times quotes it, and appeals to it, who did not outlive the year 167, being then put to death under the fourth persecution. But whether this was a true collection of the oracles called sibylline, or a fictitious composure made out of a pious fraud by some Christian of the time when it was first published, is a question among learned men. Baronius,^k bishop Montague of Norwich,^l and others, would have it to be genuine, that is, to contain a true collection of what was received among the heathen for the oracles of the sibyls before Christ was born. But^m most look on it as the spurious production of some zealous Christian, who compiled it for the promoting of the interest of the religion he professed. For any one, say they, that shall with an unbiassed judgment peruse the book, will find therein such an abstract of the history and doctrines of the Old and New Testaments, as must necessarily make him conclude, none but a Christian could write it; and in one place the compiler of it plainlyⁿ acknowledgeth himself to be so. Besides, the whole mystery of our salvation, the method whereby it was to be accomplished, what belongs to the person of the Messiah and his spiritual kingdom, his birth, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, are all more explicitly, clearly, and fully spoken of in these pretended prophecies, than they are in any of the true and undoubted prophecies of the Old Testament; which is sufficient proof, that they were written after they were accomplished; it being by no means to be

ⁱ Libro quinto.

^k In Apparatus ad Annales.

^l Acts and Monuments of the Church before Christ.

^m See Casaubon, Blondel, and others.

ⁿ Casaubon, lib. 8; where is this verse, Nos igitur Christi sancta de stirpe creati.

believed that God would reveal himself by heathen prophets to the heathen nations more clearly, fully, and explicitly, than he had by his own true prophets to his own people. Besides, the compiler of these prophetic books,^o speaks of Christ's reigning here upon earth, according to the notion of the Millinarians, which plainly proves them to have been written after the origin of that heresy, which could not have been till after Christ's time, neither had it, till the second century, when it was first introduced by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia. Herein also is given a succession of all the Roman emperours^p from Julius Cæsar to Antoninus Pius, and the time of his adopting M. Antoninus and L. Verus, in such a manner, as manifestly shews it to have been written rather as an history of things past, than as a prophecy foretelling what was to come. And in the same book the pretended prophetess tells us, that^q she was wife to one of the three sons of Noah, and was with him in the ark during the whole time of the deluge, and many other like particulars are contained therein, which savour all of fiction and imposture. All this put together seems evidently to prove, that a great part of this book, instead of containing a true collection of the oracles received for sibylline among the heathen, before Christ's time, is nothing more than the invention and imposture of the compiler.

But, on the other side, it is urged for the truth and genuineness of this book, that it was appealed to by Justin Martyr, and many others of the ancient writers of the Christian church, as Athenagoras, Theophilus, Antiochenus, Tertullian, the author of the apostolical constitutions, Lactantius, Eusebius, Jerome, Austin, &c. That Clemens Alexandrinus, who lived in the second century, tells us, that Paul himself in his preaching to the Gentiles, frequently referred to these oracles of the sibyls; that these contained in this collection are the same that were received for such in the time of Cicero, which, they say, appears by his mentioning

^o Casaubon, lib. 2; lib. 3.

^p Libro quinto.

^q Libro tertio in fine.

the acrostics which is now found in them; that Josephus, in the first book of his *Antiquities*, ch. v. quotes the sibylline oracle for the building of the tower of Babel, and the confusion of languages which followed thereupon, and that very quotation is found in the present book.

To this it is replied, that Justin Martyr was a person of great credulity, who believed, and laid hold of every thing that he thought might make for the Christian religion, whereof instances have been above already given;^r and he having appealed to this book of sibylline oracles, all the rest of the ancients that did so were led to it by his example; that as to what Clemens saith of St. Paul's quoting the sibyl, he could have this only by tradition; for there is nothing of it in the Scriptures; that, for many years before the birth of Christ, many prophecies went abroad under the name of sibyls, foretelling his coming; and that it is possible St. Paul might quote some of these in his preachings to the heathen, is readily acknowledged. But this doth not prove these eight books which we now treat of to be a true and genuine collection of them. As to the acrostics Cicero^s indeed says, the sibylline oracles were written in such sort of verses; and that there are a certain number of acrostics^t in this collection is acknowledged; but these are of a different sort from the acrostics mentioned by Cicero. For, according to him, the acrostics of the sibylline oracles were so written, that the letters of the first verse of every section began all the following verses in the same order, as they lay in that first verse. As, for example, supposing the first verse to be that which begins Virgil's fourth eclogue,

Sicelides musæ, paulo majora canamus,

to make the acrostics which Cicero mentions, the letter (i,) which is the second letter, must begin the second verse, (c,) which is the third letter, the third verse, (e) the fourth verse, (l) the fifth verse, and so

^r Part 2, book 2.

^s De Divinatione, lib. 2, c. 54.

^t Strom. lib. 6.

on to the end: and when all the letters of the first verse were thus exhausted, so as that the whole first verse might be read downward in the initial letters of the following verses as well as forward in the first, there ended the section. And then another verse begun another section: and by the letters of it another acrostichis was made in the same manner as the former, and so on through the whole volume. But the acrostics which are in the present collection, and are alluded to by Tertullian,^u and quoted by the emperor Constantine^x and St. Austin,^y are of another sort; for in them the letters of the first verse do not become the initial letters of the following verses in the manner as abovementioned; but the letters of these Greek words, *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱοῦ, Σωτῆρος, Στῆθος*, are the initial letters in these acrostics. And the English of these Greek words being Jesus Christ, the son of God, the Saviour, the Cross, and the substance of the acrostical verses whose initial letters make these words, being a summary of the principal parts of the history and doctrines of the gospel, it is scarce to be imagined, that any one in his wits should think these to have been the acrostics which Cicero mentions, or to have been at all existing in Cicero's time. It is most likely the compiler of this collection finding in Varro, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Cicero, and other writers then extant, mention made of acrostics in the sibylline oracles, invented these of purpose to cloak the imposture which he was guilty of in the greater part of the book, and so make the cheat the better go down by this imitation; but he not hitting it exactly, the fraud, instead of being covered, is detected thereby. As to the quotation of Josephus concerning the tower of Babel, and the confusion of languages at the building of it, it is acknowledged, that certain verses went about in Josephus' time, under the name of sibyls, out of which Josephus quoted the passage mentioned;

^u De Baptismo. For there are by the Greek word made *Ἰησους* out of the initial letters of these words *Ἰησους Χριστος Θεου Υἱος Σωτηρ*, which make the acrostics in the eighth book of the sibylline oracles, he plainly refers to those acrostics.

^x In Oratione ad Cætum Sanctorum apud Euseb.

^y De Civitate Dei, lib. 18, c. 23.

and that this very passage, though not in the same words, is yet in substance in the third book of the collection of the sibylline oracles which we now treat of. But this doth not prove all that collection to be genuine, and not in a great part of it the spurious production of some impostor. But, not to detain the reader with a long examination of all that hath been said by learned men on this subject, I shall lay down what appears to me to be the whole truth of the matter in these following positions.

I. The oracles of the sibyls have from ancient times been in great reputation both among the Greeks and Latins. For Plato^z and Aristotle,^a as well as Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Livy, make mention of them with great regard. But who, or how many, these sibyls were, or when or where they lived, various authors as to these particulars write variously of them; and most that they say concerning them is manifestly fable and fiction.

II. How much soever they might pretend to the gift of prophecy, they could not have it by divine inspiration. For most of the oracles that were produced from them, when consulted by the Romans, directed to such idolatrous^b and abominable rites, as cannot, without the greatest impiety, be said to come from God. And one of these sibyls, in the collection now extant,^c confesseth herself to have been a vile adulteress, who, notwithstanding the law of her marriage, had prostituted herself to a multitude, and lain with thousands; and how can any breast that is polluted with so great a load of impurity be ever thought fit for the inhabitation of the Spirit of God.

III. If therefore they ever had the power of foretelling things to come, they must have received it from diabolical spirits inspiring them therewith. For

^z In Phædro.

^a De Admirandis.

^b For out of these books they sometimes were commanded to sacrifice a Grecian man and a Grecian woman, and a Gallic man and a Gallic woman, by burying them alive in the Boarian Forum, or bullock market, and for the most part as often as they were consulted, other sacrifices were made, according to the answers from them, which were altogether as impious.

^c Lib. 2; lib. 7.

these had their oracles in many places among the heathen nations in the times preceding the birth of Christ, and most of them were delivered by women; so it was at Delphos, and so it was at Dodona, and so in other places where temples were erected to the heathen deities. But the world having been always too fond of prophecies and predictions, this often gives advantage for the imposing of false pretences under those names. We see enough of this in the credit that Nostradamus' centuries, Nixon's prophecies, and other such delusions have in our times gotten among many; but it was much more so in the heathen world. It hath been abovementioned, how Augustus burned two thousand volumes of these pretended oracles, and how Tiberius afterwards destroyed many more of them, but, notwithstanding this, like Hydra's heads, they grew and multiplied by being cut off; and down as low as the time of Zosimus, who lived in the fifth century, there were many collections of these oracles among the heathen, even then when heathenism was almost worn out. For he tells us,^d he had perused *πολλὰς χρησίων συναγωγὰς*, that is, many collections of oracles. And there is now scarce a nunnery beyond sea, in which one or other of the sisters doth not pretend to be inspired, and deliver oracles and prophecies determining the fates of kingdoms and states. Sometimes an enthusiastic spirit, sometimes hysterical fits, but mostly pride and vanity lead them to these pretences; and most likely the sibyls had no better foundation for all these oracles of theirs, that have obtained so great a reputation in the world.

IV. The story of the three books of the sibyls sold to Tarquin, was all a cheat and a fraud, devised for the convenience of the state. Some tell it of Tarquinius Superbus,^e and some of Tarquinius Priscus;^f but most likely what is said of it was done in the time of Numa, it being of a piece with all the rest that he did for the establishing of the Roman state. For he

^d Historiarum, lib. 2.

^e Dionysius Halicarn. lib. 4. A. Gellius, lib. 1, c. 19. Plin. lib. 13, c. 13. Solinus, c. 2.

^f Lactantius de Falso Religione, c. 6. Isidor. Origin, lib. 8, c. 8.

built it all upon superstition and imposture,^g pretending the direction of the goddess Egeria for all his institutions, thereby the better to make them go down with the people. And no doubt by a like device it was, that an unknown old woman, brought from some foreign place, was suborned to act the part mentioned in the story, and to burn six of the books, thereby to give the greater value to the other three. And this artifice fully answered the end intended. For the consulting of those books, and the pretended answers from them, served very often for the quelling and composing of many disorders and disturbances among the people, when nothing else could. The manner in which these oracles were said to be given forth,^h was by ecstasy and enthusiastic rage, under which the inspired gave forth their oracles, without understanding, or as much as knowing, what they said. From hence Ciceroⁱ argues against them, because of the acrostics in which they were written. For he rightly saith, that their being composed in such a sort of verses, demonstrates them to be the product of art and contrivance, and not possibly to come from such as were in ecstasy and beside themselves.

V. None being allowed to inspect,^k or in the least peruse the oracles of the sibyls in the capitol, that is, either those that were there laid up before the burning of that edifice in the time of Sylla, or those that were there laid up after it, excepting the sacred college only, to whose keeping they were committed, the members of this college were thereby enabled, whenever the consulting of these oracles was decreed, to bring forth such an answer, as would best serve the purpose for which that decree was made. And this they always did, whether they found it in these oracles or not, and herein lay the whole mystery of this matter; and we have several instances wherein it was thus practised. For when the great men of Rome

^g Plutarch. in Numa.

^h Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 2, c. 54. Virgilius Æneid, lib. 6. Servius in eundem.

ⁱ De Divinatione, lib. 2, c. 54.

^k Dionysius Halicarn. lib. 4. Valerius Maximus, lib. 1, c. 1, sec. 13. Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 2, c. 54.

had gotten from Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt all the money he could give for the procuring of his restoration, when expelled his kingdom, and they found it inconvenient for the state to do what they had promised, they^l procured an oracle to be brought forth from the sibylline books to forbid the thing. And when Cæsar had a mind to be declared king, before he should begin his intended expedition against the Parthians,^m he dealt with the keepers of those books, to give out an oracle as from them, that the Parthians could not be overcome but by a king; upon which occasion Ciceroⁿ thus writes: "Let us deal with the keepers of those books, to bring forth any thing out of them, rather than a king, which neither the gods nor men will henceforth bear at Rome." Which words plainly argue, that those books were made use of as an engine of state, out of which the keepers of them brought forth, under the name of oracles, such answers as they themselves contrived, according as they thought they would best serve the end intended.

VI. After the first books of the sibylline oracles, that had been laid up in the capitol at Rome, were burned with it, and thereon search was made for the restoring of them from other places, as is abovementioned, abundance of prophecies, under the name of the sibyls, were every where produced:^o and, by reason of the reputation given them by that search, their number grew and multiplied, every one bringing forth whatsoever prophetic writings he had by him, and publishing them for the most part under the name of some sibyl or other, the better to recommend them to acceptance, and by these means, for about eighty years before the birth of Christ, the world became filled with prophecies of all sorts.^p

^l Dion Cassius, lib. 39, p. 98. Plutarch. in Pompeio, Catone, Cicerone, et Antonio. Cicero in Epistolis ad Lentulum.

^m Dion Cassius, lib. 44, p. 247. Plutarch. in Cæsare.

ⁿ De Divinatione, lib. 2, c. 54.

^o They were collected from the papers of private persons: so saith Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and so say others.

^p This appears by the two thousand volumes of them that Augustus burned, and the many others of them that Tiberius destroyed the same way.

VII. Among these prophecies which then went about, there were several which foretold the coming of the Messiah, and the greatness, bliss, and righteousness of his kingdom. Two of these have been already mentioned, that is, that of Virgil's fourth eclogue; and the other spoken of by Julius Marathus, neither of which can admit a rational interpretation any otherwise than when applied to the Messiah. And it is particularly to be observed of the prophecy spoken of by Julius Marathus, that the words whereby it is related are,^q *Regem populo Romano Naturam parturire*, i. e. *That Nature was about to bring forth a son that should be king of the Romans*; which phrase expresseth something more than ordinary both in the cause and the effect. For here Nature itself, that is, the God of nature, is made the immediate cause of the birth; and he must be more than an ordinary person that was to be produced by so extraordinary a generation. But both these prophecies speak of the birth of the Messiah in general, without naming in particular the people of whom he should be descended, or the country where he should be born. But there were other prophecies which determined both, and declared that he should come out of Judea; and for this we have the testimonies of Tacitus and Suetonius, two eminent Roman historians; the first of which speaking of the time when Vespasian waged war with the Jews, hath these words:^r A firm persuasion had prevailed among a great many, that it was contained in the ancient sacerdotal books, that about this time it should come to pass that the East should prevail; and that those who should come out of Judea, should obtain the empire of the world. And Suetonius, speaking of the same time, saith as followeth: There had prevailed all over the East^s an ancient and constant notion, that the fates had decreed, that about that time there should come out of Judea those who should obtain the empire of the world. The completion of those prophecies is by both these ancient

^q Sueton. in Octavio, c. 94.

^r Taciti Hist. lib. 5, c. 13.

^s Sueton. in Vespasiano, c. 4.

writers referred to the coming of Vespasian out of Judea to the empire; which happened but a few years after the death of Christ, and the beginning of his kingdom here on earth, to which they truly belonged.

VIII. God having ordained that the coming of his Son should by these prophecies be foreshewn to the heathen, and for some time before his appearing be proclaimed among them, this was accomplished by a two-fold means, first, by the dispersion of the Jews among them, and, second, by the heathen oracles themselves which they used to consult. For,

IX. First, for several years before the birth of Christ, not only Simeon and Anna the prophetess,^t but the whole nation of the Jews, were in earnest expectation of his coming, and of the redemption of Israel by him. And this not only the history of the gospel in many places tells us, but Josephus^u the Jewish historian doth also attest the same. For he tells us, that the expectation which the Jews for some years before the destruction of Jerusalem had of the arising of a great king from among them, who should have the empire of the whole world, was the true cause which then excited them to that war against the Romans, in which that city and the temple in it were utterly destroyed. And Suetonius saith the same thing.^x The prophecies of Daniel and other prophets of the Old Testament having not only spoken of the righteousness, glory, and bliss, of the kingdom of the Messiah, but determined his appearance to the very time when it happened, gave just reason for this expectation; and, for above eighty years before Christ's birth, the whole house of Israel were big hereof. For so long Anna the prophetess^y being actuated by it, had attended at the temple in fasting and prayer to wait his appearance. And therefore for so long time these prophecies, and the received interpretations of them, being much talked of through all Judea, with a view to the speedy completion of them, especially

^t Luke ii, 25—38.

^u De Bello Judaico, lib. 2, sec. 12.

^x In Vespasiano, c. 4.

^y Luke ii, 37.

after Pompey had subjected that country to the Roman yoke, from thence the same manner of discoursing of them, and the same expectations of their being speedily accomplished, became diffused to all the Jews of the dispersions, wherever they were, all the world over; and great numbers of them being then settled in Rome, and in the cities of Greece and the Lesser Asia, as well as in other parts of the world, they there frequently spoke among their heathen neighbours of these prophecies, and the expectations they then had of their speedy completion; which being often rumoured about among the heathen people in those places of the Jewish dispersions, at length insensibly grew into reputation, and were received among them as if they had been prophecies from their own oracles; and the most of them became ingrafted among the oracles of the sibyls, as if they had come from them. And from hence most of those prophecies among the heathen, which, in the times abovementioned, predicted the coming of a great king out of Judea, who should, in great power and glory, reign over the whole world, seem chiefly to have had their original: for this notion the Jews then had of the Messiah, and it still continues among them.

X. But, secondly, another way of their being declared among the heathen, seems to be from the heathen oracles themselves. Thus God forced Balaam^z to prophesy of the coming of his Son out of Jacob; thus he made^a the Magians to come from the East to acknowledge and adore him, and thus he forced the devils^b themselves when cast forth by him, to own him to be the Son of God most high; and thus also most probably the diabolical spirits which presided in the heathen oracles, were, before their leaving those their habitations (which they were compelled to do before the coming of our Saviour,) in like manner forced to proclaim him. And by these two means most probably was it, that all the prophecies, which, before our Saviour's birth, were spread abroad among

^z Numb. xxiv, 17.

^a Matth. ii, 1—12.

^b Matth. viii, 29. Mark v, 7. Luke viii, 28.

the heathen concerning him and his kingdom, whether they were those called sibylline or others, were all introduced among them, there not being a third way whereby it could be done.

XI. A collection being made of the predictions which had been received among the heathen for oracles of the sibyls, and by some heathen Greek digested into a book of Greek verses about the time of our Saviour, or a little before, and all those prophecies abovementioned relating to him, having been found therein, this operated much to the advantage of Christianity in its earliest times, so as to prove of great efficacy for the converting of many thereto. And therefore Christians, in their disputes with the heathen, often out of this book making use of those oracles, and frequently appealing to them for the proof of what they professed, they were from hence called Sibyllists. ^c This book was afterwards, about the time of Antoninus Pius, the Roman emperour, interpolated with many additions by some Christian who was more zealous than either honest or wise herein. For by thus adulterating the oracles truly received as sibylline with those of his own invention, which were never heard of among the heathen before, he destroyed the authority of the whole, and the Christian cause was much damaged thereby. The book made up of this mixture I reckon is that which we now have. Several, for the sake of the many spurious particulars which are manifestly in it, think all the rest to be of the same sort, and would therefore reject the whole. That the major part is justly thus condemned, I readily acknowledge, but cannot yield it for all the book. Celsus, ^d the greatest enemy that Christianity had among the ancients, chargeth the imposture no further than upon the interpolations, neither will I. But to return to our history.

Alexander and Aristobulus, Herod's sons by Mari-
 Anno 13. amne, having, on their return from Rome,
 Herod 25. lived three years at home with their father,

^c Origenes contra Celsum, lib. 7.

^d Origenes contra Celsum, lib. 7. This Celsus was an Epicurean philosopher, who lived in the second century, and wrote a book against Christianity, which Origen answered.

at length fell grievously under his displeasure. ^e The young men in the heat of their youth let fall many rash words, which expressed their resentments for the death of their mother, with threats of revenge upon those who had been the authors of it ; at which Salome and Pheroras, who were the chief advisers of her execution, being alarmed, laid plots for the ruin of the two young men to prevent their own. In order whereto, they took care that all the rash words which these young men had at any time indiscreetly bolted out on the subject of their mother's death, were all represented to Herod, as including threats against himself ; and, the more to ensnare them, frequent occasions were taken to provoke them to speak out all the anger and indignation which they had conceived in their minds concerning this matter ; which being carried to Herod, with all the malicious glosses and aggravations which the words could admit, had all the effect which was intended, in exciting in him jealousies against these his two sons, as if they were hatching ill designs against his person. And therefore, whereas hitherto they had held the first place among his sons, as those who were designed next to succeed in the kingdom on their father's death, he brought Antipater, another son of his, to court, and placed him over their heads. This he did in order to humble the two brothers, and bring them to a better temper ; but it worked the quite contrary way, in provoking them to greater discontents, and more intemperate language than before ; of all which notice being constantly carried to Herod, it further exasperated him against them, and Antipater, who was a very crafty, as well as a very malicious man, was not wanting to make the advantage of all this for his own interest. This Antipater was Herod's eldest son by Doris his first wife ; but she being divorced on his marriage with Mariamne, her son was bred up in private, till he was brought to court on this occasion ; and, when fixed there, he soon brought his mother thither also ; and from this time having the crown in his constant

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 6, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 17.

view, he became the chief instrument in procuring the destruction of the two brothers, the better to secure his succession to it on his father's death.

Agrippa being^f called to Rome,^g Sentius Saturninus and Titus Volumnius succeeded him in the government of Syria and Phœnicia; some would have Saturninus only to have been president of the province, and Volumnius no other than as legate, or else as Cæsar's procurator under him; but Josephus speaks of him as in joint commission. But before Agrippa departed,^h Herod waited on him in Asia, carrying Antipater thither with him, whom he introduced to Agrippa's favour, and sent him to Rome with him,ⁱ where, by virtue of recommendatory letters from his father, he got into the good grace of Augustus, and many of the great men of Rome. But, while thus absent, he ceased not to carry on his plots against the two brothers, often exciting^j Herod against them by his letters, which he craftily wrote in a style, which concealing all manner of malice against the accused, expressed only a concern for his father's safety.

Agrippa, on his return to Rome,^k was sent against the Paunonians, who had revolted; but, on his coming against them, the rebels being frightened by the terrour of his name, submitted to such terms of peace as were required; whereupon Agrippa returning, fell sick in Campania, and there died. He was the chief favourite of Augustus, and having married Julia, Augustus' only daughter, shared with him in the government, and bore a great part of the burden of it. On his death, Augustus standing in need of another assistant,^l made choice of Tiberius, the son of Livia, by her former husband, but very unwillingly, as knowing the man; but, for want of a better, being necessitated to fix on him, he gave him his daughter Julia, the widow of the deceased, to wife, causing him to divorce his former wife, to make room for her.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16. c. 6, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 17.

^g Idem, lib. 16, c. 12, 13.

^h Idem, lib. 16, c. 6.

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 7.

^k Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 541. Epitome Livii, lib. 136.

^l Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 543. Suet. in Octavio, c. 63. Tiberio, c. 7.

The breach between Herod and his sons by Mariamne still growing wider and wider, by the means of those that did ill offices between them, it at length came to pass, that Herod being no longer able to bear them,^m took them along with him into Italy, and made this voyage thither on purpose to accuse them before Augustus ; and having found him at Aquileia, he there brought the cause before him. His charge against them was, that they carried themselves undutifully and insolently towards him, and had formed designs by poison to take away his life. But of this last charge, wherein lay the chief of the accusation, nothing appearing but jealousies and groundless suspicions, Augustus acquitted the young men ; and, having reconciled their father to them, sent them all home made fully friends. Herod, on his return to Jerusalem, having called together the people in the temple, related to them the event of his journey, and, according to the power given to him by Augustus, he named Antipater in the first place to succeed him in the kingdom, and next after him the sons of Mariamne.

Anno 11.
Herod 27.

Herod, after twelve years time,ⁿ having finished his works at Straton's tower, and brought them all to thorough perfection, he dedicated the place with great solemnity, and, in compliment to Augustus, from his name Cæsar, called it Cæsarea. He there made, by an artificial mole of great expense, an excellent port, large enough for a great number of ships to ride safely in ; and the city which he there built, was, next to Jerusalem, the largest, the best, and the most magnificent of all in that country ; and when Judea fell under the Roman yoke, this was mostly made the seat of the procurator who governed that province.^o After this^p he built several other cities, as Antipatris, Cypron, and Phasaelis. The first he named from his father, the second from his mother, and the third from Phasael his brother. And from him

Anno 10.
Herod 28.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 7, 8.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 9.

^o Acts xxiii, 23, 24, 33 ; xxv, 6, 13.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16.

also he named a large tower, which he built at Jerusalem, of equal size with that of Pharos near Alexandria, calling it the tower of Phasaël; of which mention hath been already made.^q

The Jews of Asia and Cyrene, being oppressed by the heathen inhabitants among whom they dwelt, and not permitted to live according to their own laws and religion, and the privileges formerly granted them, in order hereto,^r addressed themselves to Augustus for relief in this grievance, and obtained from him an edict in their favour, whereby all was decreed for them that they desired.

Salome, Pheroras, and Antipater,^s pursuing their plot against the sons of Marianne, took care that so many false stories were carried to Herod concerning them, and such ill representations of their conduct were from time to time, partly by their agents, and partly by themselves, continually made unto him, that at length this caused another open breach between him and the two young princes. For they had, by these malicious artifices, so filled the old king's head with jealousies and suspicions, that he could neither sleep by night, nor enjoy any quiet by day, for fear of those plots and designs which hereby he was made believe these two brothers were framing against him. To make discovery of the imagined treason, he put all the confidants of the young princes upon the rack, thereby to extort a confession from them of what they knew nothing of. And the torments making some of them, for the gaining of ease, say any thing that might obtain it; false stories were delivered instead of true confessions, some of which bearing hard upon Alexander, he was hereon cast into prison, and loaded with chains, and more persons were put to the question, to draw from them accusations against him. Alexander, by these practices against him, being made desperate, sent four papers to his father, wherein, to create the old tyrant all the vexation and disturbance he was able, he made a confession of plots and treasonable conspiracies which

^q Part 2, book 2.

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 20.

^s Idem, lib. 16, c. 11, 12.

were never so much as thought of, and named Pheroras and Salome, his brother and sister, with Ptolemy and Sapinnus, his two prime ministers, and many others of his chief confidants, as accomplices herein. This had the designed effect, by creating the old tyrant more perplexity and vexation than ever any thing before. For, being naturally of a very suspicious temper, and the consciousness of his tyrannical and oppressive conduct in the government making him more so, he swallowed for truth all that Alexander's papers represented to him; whereon suspecting every body, and trusting no body, he raged like a madman against all, condemning some to death, and tormenting others, till they expired on the rack, because they would not confess what they knew nothing of; whereby having turned his palace into a slaughter-house, and filled it all over with confusion and horror, he seemed to act as a madman, and one truly bereaved of his senses.

While he was in this case, vexing and tormenting himself and others, ^t Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, whose daughter Alexander had married, ^{Anno 8.} came to his court, and, by the interposal of ^{Herod 30.} his good offices, brought all things there again to rights. At his first hearing of the charge against Alexander, he put on a seeming rage against him, that outdid that of Herod, threatening to take his daughter from him, and vented himself in such other bitter expressions against him, as at length brought Herod to be his advocate, and with tears to plead with him for his son, that his wife might not be taken from him. As soon as Archelaus found Herod in this temper, he came seriously to the matter; and by his wisdom and good address managed it so, as to procure another reconciliation between Herod and his sons; and hereon all jealousies and suspicions being laid aside on one part, and all resentment and discontent on the other, peace was again restored to that distracted family. Herod was very sensible of the great kindness Archelaus did him in extricating him out of such great difficulties; and therefore made him great presents in acknowledg-

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 12.

ment of it, and on his return accompanied him in the journey as far as Antioch, where he reconciled him to Titus Volumnius, the Roman governour of Syria, between whom and Archelaus there had been before some difference. This Archelaus^u was grandson to that Archelaus who reigned in Egypt, and great grandson to him of the same name, that was general of Mithridates' army, in his wars with Sylla. Antony, from high priest of Comana in Pontus,^u made him king of Cappadocia, on the account of a criminal conversation he had with Glaphyra his mother.

After this Herod went to Rome, to acquaint Augustus with what was done in this affair. For he having written to him of this second breach with his sons, and in his letters accused them of many high crimes and treasonable practices against him, and pressed hard to have them brought to justice; it was thought proper he should make this journey to give him an account of the reconciliation he had made with them.

While he was thus absent,* the thieves of Trachonitis taking the advantage of it, returned to their old trade, and ravaged with their depredations all the parts of Judea and Coele-Syria that lay within their reach; which created Herod great trouble, and at length involved him in those difficulties with Augustus, as had like utterly to have excluded him his favour, as will be hereafter related. It hath been abovementioned, how Herod, having received from Augustus the provinces of Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanea, set himself to suppress those thieves, which, from the mountains and caves of Trachonitis, infested all that country. This having fully effected, he forced those free-booters to betake themselves to the culture of their land for their subsistence; but being soon weary of this course of life, on Herod's former going into Italy with his two sons to accuse them before Augustus, they took that opportunity to revolt from him, and return again to their old trade; but being quickly broken, and reduced by the king's forces, forty of the ringleaders of

^u Dion Cassius, lib. 49, p. 411. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 540.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 13.

them fled into Arabia Petræa, where Sylleus, who governed all under Obodas, king of that country, not only received them under his protection, but gave them also a strong fortress in that country, called Repta, for their retreat and safe habitation: from whence, on Herod's last coming to Rome, they made inroads into Judea and Cœle-Syria, and miserably ravaged all those countries; and Sylleus, out of the hatred he bore to Herod, countenanced and protected them herein. The reason of Sylleus' hatred to Herod was,^y Sylleus would have married Salome, Herod's sister, and he had gained her consent hereto: but Herod requiring that he should first turn Jew, and Sylleus not daring so to do, for fear, as he said, lest the Arabians should stone him to death for it on his return, this broke off the match, and Herod^z forced Salome to marry Alexas, a confident of his; at which Sylleus contracting a great hatred against Herod, expressed it on all occasions, till at length, in the pursuit of it, he procured his own ruin, as will be hereafter related. This was the same Sylleus who, having undertaken to be guide to Ælius Gallus in his march into the southern parts of Arabia, betrayed him in all that expedition, and made it wholly miscarry thereby, as hath been above related.

Herod, on his return, finding his country much disturbed and damaged by these Trachonite thieves, ^a applied himself immediately to redress the mischief by punishing the authors of it. But, not being able to come at them, by reason of the protection given them in Arabia by Sylleus, he resolved to revenge the wrong on those that were related to them. And, therefore, passing into Trachonitis, and searching through the whole country, he put all to death whom he found there of the families and kindred of any of those who were at Repta; by which those thieves being exceedingly exasperated, they, in revenge hereof, renewed their inroads in a desperate manner, and damaged the country more than ever before.

^y Idem, lib. 16, c. 11.

^z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 1.

^a Idem, lib. 16, c. 13.

The pontifices at Rome^b having, for thirty-six years, from the time that Julius Cæsar reformed the Roman calendar, made every third year a leap year, instead of every fourth, by this error, three days were now added to the Roman year more than should be; which being observed, Augustus this year, as high priest, rectified the mistake, and, for the bringing of all to rights, ordered first, that for the twelve ensuing years, no leap year should be at all; and, secondly, that, after the expiration of the said twelve years, the leap years should thenceforth be made every fourth year; by the first part of which order, the three superadded days being flung out, and, by the second, the leap years fixed to their true times, according to Julius Cæsar's institution, the form of this year hath ever since regularly proceeded, and is, under the name of the old style, still in use among us, even to this day, as hath been already abovementioned.^c At the same time that Augustus made this reformation,^d a decree passed the senate and people of Rome, that the month hitherto called Sextilis, should thenceforth from his name be called Augustus, and so it hath been ever since in the Roman calendar, and all others that are formed from it.

The re-edifying of the temple of Jerusalem by Herod being finished at the end of nine years and an half from his first beginning of the building,^e he celebrated with great pomp and expense the dedication of it, and the day appointed for it falling in with the day of the year when he first received the crown, this augmented the solemnity. And it was very proper and requisite that this house should be thus repaired and fitted up in its best dress, when he that was Lord thereof was coming to it; for within less than four years after this Christ was born.

^b Sueton. in Octavio, c. 31. Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1, c. 14. Solin. c. 3. Plin. lib. 18, c. 25.

^c Part 2, book 7, under the year 46.

^d Sueton. *ibid.* Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1, c. 12. Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 552.

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15, c. 14.

This year died Horace^f the poet, and Mecænas & his great patron, who, next Agrippa, was the greatest favourite of Augustus, and was always a true and faithful counsellor to him.

Herod being still vexed by the Trachonite thieves, who had taken shelter in Arabia,^h applied to Saturninus and Volumnius, the Roman gov-
Anno 7.
Herod 31.
 ernours of Syria, with complaint against Sylleus for his protecting of them; and at the same time commenced a suit against him before the said governours for a debt of sixty talents, which Sylleus had borrowed of him for the service of king Obodas. To make answer to all this, Sylleus was forced to appear at Berytus before the said governours; and there, on Herod's having made good his allegations against him, to stave off further proceedings at this time, he bound himself by oath within thirty days to pay the said debt, and deliver up all fugitives to Herod that were within the dominions of Obodas. But,ⁱ when the day came, he performed neither of these engagements, but went away to Rome. Whereon Herod applied again to Saturninus and Volumnius, and, having obtained their license to right himself by arms, marched into Arabia with an army, and destroyed Repta, the nest of those thieves, and slew as many of them as there fell into his hands. While he was doing this, one Nacebus, an Arabian captain, coming to the assistance of those thieves, Herod gave him battle, and in the conflict slew him with twenty-five of his men, and put the rest to flight. And, after having thus revenged himself of those thieves and their abettors, he marched back again, without doing any hurt to the country, and, on his return, placed three thousand Idumeans in Trachonitis, to keep the thieves of that country from any more exercising their usual depredations. Sylleus at Rome having received an account of all this,^k immediately went to Augustus with a lamentable ac-

^f Sueton. in Vita Horatii.

^g Dion Cassius, lib. 54, p. 552.

^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 13.

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 14.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 15.

count, exceedingly magnifying the matter, as setting forth, beyond all truth, that Herod had invaded Arabia with a great army, ravaged and ruined the country, pillaged Repta of a vast treasure there laid up, and slain two thousand five hundred Arabians of the first rank, and with them Nacebus their general, his friend and kinsman; at which Augustus being exceedingly offended, wrote Herod a very sharp letter, and for some time, on this account, Herod was absolutely out of his favour, till at length he became informed of the exact truth of the matter.

In the interim died Obodas,^k king of the Nabathean Arabs, being poisoned by Sylleus. He had laid the plot for his death before he left Arabia, and his whole business at Rome was to make an interest with Augustus for the succession, when the avoidance should happen. But the Nabatheans, without making any application to Augustus for a new king, or waiting his pleasure at all about it, immediately placed on the throne of the deceased one Æneas, who afterwards, by a name very common among the Arabian kings, was called Hareth, in Greek Aretas. The country where he reigned was Arabia Petræa, so called from Petra the metropolis; and the inhabitants, being descended from Nebaioth,^l one of the sons of Ishmael, were from him named Nabatheans.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus^m this year began to write his Roman history. He continued it down in twenty books to the time of the first Punic war, and there ended it where Polybius begun. But of these twenty books only eleven now remain, the rest being lost. It is written in Greek, and is the fullest and most accurate of all that have been written of the Roman affairs. He came to Rome twenty-two years before he begun the composure of this book, a great part of which time he spent in collecting materials for it.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 15.

^l Gen. xxv, 13; xxviii, 9.

^m Videas Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 2, c. 3, et Prefationem ipsius Dionysii ad Historiam suam.

Tiberius, the son-in-law of Augustus, on some discontent, for which various causes are given by historians,ⁿ left Rome, and retired to Rhodes, Anno 6.
Herod 32. on pretence of improving himself in that place by his studies; where he continued about seven years in a private life. He had a great difficulty in the obtaining of Augustus' consent for this retirement, but greater afterwards to gain his permission to return.

Herod^o at this time was involved in great perplexities; his quarrel with the sons of Mariamne again revived, and at the same time being out of favour with Augustus, on the account of Sylleus' information, the Trachonites taking the advantage hereof, in conjunction with the Arabians, overpowered Herod's Idumean guards, which he had placed in that country, and begun again their usual depredations; and Herod durst not right himself on them, for fear of further displeasing Augustus. To remove the prejudices which Augustus had conceived against him, he had sent two embassies to Rome; but neither of them could obtain an audience from him. Of which these thieves having an account, were encouraged thereby to carry further on their ravages against him; which at length growing to that height of oppression, as to be no longer borne, he resolved to make trial of a third embassy, and employed Nicolaus Damascenus herein. On his arrival at Rome, being informed how much Augustus was prepossessed with Sylleus' information against Herod, he durst not directly apply to him about that matter. But, finding there ambassadors from the Nabatheans, he joined with them as their advocate, purposing, in the pleading of their cause, to bring in that of Herod's by the by, and thus by a side wind to come at the clearing of what was alleged against him. These ambassadors were then at Rome on a two-fold account; the first to compliment Augustus from their new king; and the second to accuse Sylleus of the poisoning of Obodas, and many other crimes which they had to object against him. As to the first part of their commission, Au-

ⁿ Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 10.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 15, 16.

gustus would give them no audience, though they brought very submissive letters from Aretas, and very valuable presents, being much displeased with him, in that he entered on the government without his consent. But as to the other part of it, that is, their accusation against Sylleus, he appointed them a day for the hearing of it. In the management of which cause, Nicolaus being the chief speaker, after having laid open his other crimes, which were very many, he at length charged him with being guilty of a great affront upon Augustus himself, by audaciously imposing on him lies and calumnies; and instanced, in the account which he had given of the action of Herod against the Trachonite thieves at Repta, which, he averred, was all false, from one end to the other; at which Augustus being startled, bid him make out that, waving all other particulars; which Nicolaus having done, by laying before him the whole truth of the matter, as above related; and Sylleus then present, and confronted, not being able to contradict any one point hereof, Augustus gave sentence against him, that he should be carried back into Arabia, and made pay his debt to Herod,^p and after that be put to death; which was accordingly executed upon him, he being beheaded at Rome, as Strabo,^q who lived in those times, assures us. Josephus tells us,^r that when he was carried back into Arabia, he there refused to do any thing of what he had been enjoined by Augustus; and therefore, being hereof accused by Antipater in the behalf of Herod his father, he was ordered to be again brought to Rome; and then, most likely, was it, that he was put to death in the manner as Strabo relates.

Augustus being hereby^s again reconciled to Herod, was grieved that he had given so much of his ear to Sylleus' false accusations against him; and therefore to make him amends, he had thought of expelling

^p This debt Josephus saith, (lib. 16, c. 13,) was no more than sixty talents. Nicolaus, in his speech to Augustus, lays it at five hundred talents; the first perchance was the debt, and the other the forfeiture of the obligation.

^q Strabo, lib. 16, p. 782.

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 4.

^s Idem, lib. 16, c. 15.

Aretas out of the kingdom of the Nabatheans, which he had taken possession of without his consent, and giving it to Herod; but, while he was thinking of it, letters were delivered to him from Herod, which made him alter his purpose. For Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras, continuing still to carry on their former plot against the sons of Mariamne, for the reasons already mentioned^s they filled the old king's head so full of jealousies, suspicions, and false accusations against them, and thereby so thoroughly possessed him of their being in a conspiracy against his life, that, although nothing was proved against them but their intention of making their escape from him into some other country, where they might live out of the reach of his tyrannical cruelty, yet, on the proof of this one particular only, believed all the rest, he resolved on their destruction, and wrote to Augustus for the obtaining of his leave accordingly to proceed against them, setting forth to him all that he had to lay to their charge; and he sent Volumnius, his marshal de camp, and Olympus, another of his friends, to Rome, with his letters wherein all this was contained, giving them in direction, that, in case they found Augustus, by the means of Nicolaus' embassy, reconciled to him, then to deliver the letters, but not otherwise. And therefore, on their arrival, finding that all was again set right with Augustus, they presented him the letters, which being full of invectives and bitter expressions against his sons, Augustus, on the perusal of them, considering his age, and present misfortunes about his children, thought it not proper, in these circumstances, to burden him with the care of another kingdom; and therefore, retracting his resolutions as to this matter, he sent for the Nabathean ambassadors, accepted their presents, and confirmed Aretas in his kingdom. However, he wrote a kind letter to Herod, wherein having condoled his misfortune as to his sons, he gave him full liberty and power to proceed against them according as their crime should be found to deserve, advising him to call a council at

^s Idem, lib. 16, c. 16.

Berytus, and there, with the assistance of the governours of the neighbouring provinces, together with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and other friends and persons of honour, to hear and finally determine the whole matter. Herod, being much pleased with this letter, immediately[†] summoned a council to meet at the place mentioned, calling thither to it Saturninus and Volumnius, governours of Syria, and all others whom Augustus' letter directed him to, excepting only Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who, being father-in-law to Alexander, was thought by Herod too much engaged by that relation to be an impartial judge in this matter. The council being sat, Herod accused his sons before them with that vehemence, and laid so many things to their charge, that the majority, being overborne thereby, passed sentence of condemnation against them, and left it to Herod to execute it as he should think fit. Whereon, sending them to Sebaste he caused them there both to be strangled. And thus ended the life of these unfortunate brothers, who, by too much expressing their resentments for their mother's death, provoked those who had been the chief authors of it, at length, by like artifices, to procure theirs. In which tragedy, Salome, the sister of Herod, acted the chiefest part; who being a very crafty and malicious woman, seldom stood out where any mischief was to be done. She governed herself chiefly by Herod's inclinations; and, whatsoever wicked purposes she found him intent upon, she humoured him, and always concurred with him therein; and by these wicked means she constantly maintained her interest with that bloody tyrant, and had the first place in his favour and confidence as long as he lived.

At this time Zacharias saw the vision in the temple, of which we have an account in the first chapter of St. Luke, as he there officiated in his course. For the fuller understanding hereof, it is to be observed, that the priests, according^u to David's institution, being

[†] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 16, c. 17.

^u 2 Chron. xxiv.

divided into twenty-four courses,^x each course attended at Jerusalem its week : and every course being divided into seven classes, each class served its day at the temple ; and each priest of that class had his part in the service appointed him^x by lot ; and therefore Zacharias being of the course of Abiah, came up to Jerusalem in the week of his course, there to officiate with the others of it in his office ; and when the day of his service came, his lot was to offer incense upon the altar of incense in the holy place ; and, while he was officiating in that service, the angel Gabriel appeared to him, and foretold to him the birth of his son John the Baptist, and the ministry on which he should be sent, whereof we have the history in the said first chapter of St. Luke.

The sons of Mariamne being dead, and Antipater having nothing now that stood in his way to the crown, but the life of Herod, to get rid of him^y was the thing next in design ; in order whereto Antipater^z entered into a conspiracy with Pheroras and others, for the despatching of him by poison. For Pheroras, though he had always found Herod a kind brother to him, was at this time, very much out with him, on the account of his wife which he had lately married. On the death of his former wife, Herod^a offered him one of his daughters, which he had by Mariamne ; but he being deeply smitten with the love of a maid-servant in his house, married her, and rejected for her sake the king's daughter ; whereon she was given to Phasaël, the son of Phasaël, Herod's elder brother. However Herod after some time, to make up the difference,^b offered him the other daughter which he had by Mariamne, and Pheroras, to avoid absolutely breaking with him, consented hereto, and bound himself by an oath, to solemnize the marriage within a month ; but at the month's end, he refused to perform his engagement, not finding in his heart to put away the wife he had lately married,

x See Lightfoot's Temple Service, chap. 6, 9.

y Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 1.

z Idem, lib. 17, c. 3, 6.

a Idem, lib. 16, c. 11.

b Idem, lib. 17, c. 3.

Anno 5.
Herod 33.

so much he doted upon her. This widening the breach between the two brothers, Antipater took the advantage hereof to engage Pheroras in his designs. And there was another occasion, which did set them further at difference. About this time^b the whole nation of the Jews being called upon to swear allegiance to Augustus, and the king, the Pharisees, to the number of above seven thousand persons, refused the oath, in the same manner^c as they had done before, upon a notion, that it was against their law to yield allegiance to any prince^d that was not of the stock of Israel. Hereon^e Herod imposed a fine upon them, for the punishment of the contumacy : this Pheroras' wife, out of the zeal she had for that sect,^e paid all down for them ; in requital hereof, those men (who by false pretences had gotten, among the vulgar, the opinion of a prophetic spirit) gave out, that God had determined the transferring of the kingdom from the line of Herod to Pheroras and his issue by this woman, which occasioned some seditious discourses and practices among the people. Of which Herod having gotten information, chiefly by the means of Salome, several of the Pharisees were taken up upon it and put to death. Herod, hereon calling a council of his friends, did therein set forth all this matter, and charging the original of the whole of it upon Pheroras' wife, commanded him to put her away, telling him, that he must either disown that woman for a wife, or never more expect to be owned by him as a brother. To this Pheroras answered, that nothing should ever make him renounce his beloved wife ; that he would rather die than live without her. Herod grievously resenting this answer, forbad Pheroras his house, and commanded Antipater, Doris his mother, and all the rest of his family, to have no more conversation or correspondence with him or his wife ; which as much angering Pheroras as Herod was angered against him, he struck in the closer with Antipater in his worst designs, and

^b Idem, lib. 17, c. 3.

^c Idem, lib. 15, c. 13. See above, under the year 20.

^d Deut. xxvii, 15.

^e Joseph. *ibid.*

made himself a party with him in the plot to poison the old king;^f and, that both of them might be out of the way when it should be executed, thereby the better to avoid being suspected of it, Antipater^g procured to be called to Rome, there to attend upon Augustus, and Pheroras^h gladly laid hold of the commands laid upon him by Herod, to retire to his tetrarchy, swearing never more to return as long as Herod should live, and he made his oath good. For although Herod in a sickness, which a little after befell him, sent earnestly to speak with him, he would not come to him. But notwithstanding a little after, Pheroras falling sick, Herod made him a kind visit, and with great tenderness lamented his case which soon after grew so bad that he died of it. After his death,ⁱ two of his freed men made heavy complaint to Herod, that he had been poisoned by his wife. Herod on this making strict inquiry, and putting several to the torture, at length came hereby to the discovery of the plot which was laid against himself by Antipater, Pheroras, and others, to take him off by poison. This poison one Antiphilus, a friend of Antipater's, had got prepared at Alexandria, by a brother of his that there practised physic, and from thence brought it to Jerusalem, and there delivered it to Theudion, the brother of Doris, Antipater's mother, who sent it by a freed man of Antipater's to Pheroras, who had undertaken to get it to be given Herod, and he delivered it to his wife to lay up, till there should be an opportunity of executing what was intended by it. All which being made out by clear evidence, Herod sent for Pheroras' wife, who confessed the whole, acknowledging that she had the poison delivered to her to keep, but that Pheroras repenting of the plot, on Herod's kind visiting of him in his last sickness, ordered her to fetch the poison and cast it into the fire before his face, and that she accordingly did so, excepting only that she reserved a small part for herself to make use of it, if there should

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 6.

^g Idem, lib. 17, c. 4.

^h Idem, lib. 17, c. 5.

ⁱ Idem, lib. 17, c. 6.

be an occasion. Hereby it was clearly made out, that Antipater, having procured the death of his two brothers to make his way to the crown, had now, for the same end, laid a most wicked plot for the poisoning of his father.

While this was a doing in Judea, the temple of Janus was shut up at Rome. Their usage was to lay open its gates in the time of war, and to shut them up in time of peace. They had been shut only five times since the first building of Rome. The first time was in the reign of Numa;^k the second, after the end of the first Punic war;^l the third,^m after Augustus had vanquished Antony and Cleopatra, and reduced thereby the whole Roman empire to a quiet submission to him, which happened in the year before Christ 29; the fourth time, four years after,ⁿ that is, in the twenty-fifth year before Christ, on Augustus' return from the war which he had with the Cantabrians in Spain; and the fifth time,^o was in this year, under the reign of the same Augustus. For at this time there was a general peace all over the world, and it continued for twelve years together; which was a proper prelude for ushering in his coming, who was the Prince of peace, Christ our Lord.

For, in the sixth month after,^p the angel Gabriel had appeared to Zacharias in the temple: he was sent to Nazareth, a city of Galilee, to Mary, a virgin of the house of David, lately espoused to Joseph of the same lineage, to declare to her the good tidings, that of her was to be born the Son of God; whereon being overshadowed by the Holy Ghost,^q she conceived thereby; and, at the end of this year, Christ the Saviour of the world was born of her.

Augustus^r having issued out a decree for the taking of a description or survey of the whole Roman empire,

^k Livius, lib. 1. Plutarch. in Numa.

^l Livius & Plut. ibid. Vel. Pater. lib. 2, c. 38. Florus, lib. 2, c. 6.

^m Vel. Pater. lib. 2, c. 38. Dion Cassius, lib. 51, p. 457. Plut. in Numa.

ⁿ Orosius, lib. 1, c. 20.

^o Idem, lib. 6, c. 22.

^p Luke i, 26, 36.

^q Luke i, 35.

^r Luke ii, 1, 2.

such as should contain an account of all the persons, possessions, and estates therein, and the taxes issuable from them, it was this year executed in Judea, in the manner as Luke in his gospel relates. Such an account used to be taken of the citizens of Rome, every fifth year, and they had officers of purpose appointed for it, called censors. Their business was to take an account,^s and make a registration of all the Roman citizens, their wives and children, with the age, qualities, trades, offices, and estates real and personal of all of them. Augustus first extended this to the provinces; and^t three times during his reign he caused the like description to be made of all the provinces of the Roman empire. The first was in the year when he himself was the sixth time, and M. Agrippa the second time, consuls, that is, in the year before the Christian era 28; the second time in the consulship of C. Marcus Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus, that is, in the year before the Christian era 8. And the last time, in the consulship of Sextus Pompeius Nepos, and Sextus Apuleius Nepos, that is, in the year of the Christian era 14. In^u the first and last time he executed this with the assistance of a colleague. But the second time he did it by himself alone; and this is the description which Luke refers to. The decree concerning it was issued out the year I have mentioned, that is, in the eighth year before the Christian era, which was three years before that in which Christ was born. So long had the taking of this description or survey been carrying on through Syria, Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Judea, before it came to Bethlehem. And when it came thither, Joseph and Mary^x his wife were called from Nazareth in Galilee, the place of their habitation, to this city of Bethlehem, the city of David, to which, as being of the house and lineage of David, they did

^s Censoris officium erat omnia patrimonii, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorumque, discrimina, in tabulas referre. I. Florus, lib. 1, c. 6. Censores populi ævitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento. Cicero de Legibus, lib. 3.

^t Sueton. in Octavio, c. 27. Monumentum Ancyranum quod extat in notis Casauboni ad Sueton. in Grutero & in Leunclavii pandectis Turcicis.

^u Sueton. in Octavio, c. 27.

^x Luke ii, 4.

originally belong, that there, as citizens of that place, they, their circumstances and estates, might be described and registered among those who were of the same house and family with them; and while on this occasion they tarried there, was it that Mary was delivered, and the promised seed, Christ our Lord, by whom the world was to be saved, was then born of her in that place, in the manner as in the gospels is related. That we allow three years for the execution of this decree can give no just reason for exception; for, supposing the execution of it in every province of the Roman empire to have been committed to the governor of it (and, that it was so in Syria, to Sentius Saturninus the Roman president of it,^y Tertullian doth attest,) to carry this work through all the countries that made up the province of Syria, that is, through Syria, Coele-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea; three years time was little enough for it. Joab was^z nine months and twenty days in taking an account of ten of the tribes of Israel,^a and of no more in them than^b of the men that were fit for the wars. But the account taken by the decree of Augustus, at the time of our Saviour's birth, extended to all manner of persons, and also to their possessions, estates, qualities, and other circumstances. And when a description and survey like this last mentioned was ordered by William the Conqueror to be taken for England only, I mean that of the Doom's-day book, it was six years in making;^c and the Roman province of Syria was much more than twice as big as all England. But although this description or survey was at this time made for Judea, and every man's estate estimated and valued according as used to be done by the Romans for the laying of their taxes; yet no payment of any tax was there made upon it till the twelfth year after. Till then, Herod, and after him Archelaus his son, reigning in Judea, no taxes were then paid by the Jews of that country, but to these

y *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 4, c. 19.

z 2 Samuel xxiv, 8.

a For Levi and Benjamin were not numbered, 1 Chronicles xxi, 6.

b 2 Samuel xxiv, 9. 1 Chronicles xxi, 5.

c It was begun in the 14th year of king William the Conqueror, and not finished till the 20th. See Spelman's Glossary, under the word *Domesdei*.

princes only: but when, in the said twelfth year, Archelaus was deposed, and Judea put under the command and government of a Roman procurator, then first were taxes paid the Romans for that country, Publius Sulpitius Quirinius, who, in Greek, is called Cyrenius, being at that time governour, that is, president of Syria. If it be asked for what reason then was this survey or description of Judea made, if no taxes were then to be paid upon it? the answer is, Augustus was then at work in the composure of a book containing such a survey and description of the whole Roman empire, as that which our Doom's-day book doth for England. In order whereto, his decree for this survey or description we now treat of was made to extend to the depending kingdoms, as well as to the provinces of the empire, that so he might have a full account of both for the thorough completing of this work. However taxes were by the people of the provinces only paid to the Romans, and those of the dependent kingdoms to their own proper princes. What tributes the Roman emperours had from these dependent kingdoms, was from the princes of them, not from the people. The people paid their taxes to their princes, and the princes their tribute to the Roman emperours. Of the book which Augustus made out of the surveys and descriptions which were at this time returned to him out of every province and depending kingdom of the Roman empire, Tacitus,^d Suetonius, and Dion Cassius,^f make mention, and represent it to be very near of the same nature with our Doom's-day book abovementioned. Putting all this together, the sum and series of this matter appears to be as followeth. Augustus, three years before the birth of Christ, issued out a decree for the making of a gen-

^d Hist. lib. 1, c. 11, ibi dicit in hoc libello. Opes publicæ continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa, aut vectigalia, et necessitates, et largitiones.

^e In Octavio, c. 101, ubi hæc habet. Augustus de tribus voluminibus post se relictis tertio complexus est brevium totius imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniæ in ærario, et siscis, et vectigalium residuis.

^f Lib. 56, p. 591, ubi dicit. Tertius liber summam militum, reddituum impendiorum publicorum pecuniæ in thesauris, aliaque id genus ad principatum pertinentia indicabat.

eral survey or description of the whole Roman empire, and of every province and depending state and kingdom in it, and committed it to the care of the governor of each province to have it executed; and Sentius Saturninus, being then president of Syria, was charged with it for that province, and the depending kingdoms, states, and tetrarchies, that were within it; who, having carried it on through all other parts of his province, three years after the date of the said decree, executed at Bethlehem, at the time when Christ was there born. But then, though the survey and description was made for Judea, as well as for all other parts of that province, and every man's possessions there were estimated and valued, yet no tax was there laid or levied according to that valuation, till the deposing of Archelaus, and the reducing of Judea under the Roman government, in the twelfth year after, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. So that there were two distinct particular actions in this matter, done at two distinct and different times; the first, the making the description or survey; and the second, the laying and levying the tax thereupon. And what is in the first verse of the second chapter of Luke, is to be understood of the former of these; and what is in the second verse only of the latter. And this reconciles that evangelist with Josephus: for it is manifest from that author, that Cyrenius^g was not governor of Syria, or any tax levied upon Judea, till Archelaus was deposed, and that country brought under a Roman procurator; which was above eleven years after Augustus' decree for making of the description abovementioned was executed at Bethlehem. And therefore, the making of this description cannot be that which was done while Cyrenius was governor of Syria; but the other particular, that is, the laying and levying the tax thereupon, certainly was: for then first was a Roman governor, under the name and style of procurator of Judea, put over that nation, and then first were they forced to pay taxes to the Roman emperor; of which a full account is given in Josephus.^g And therefore, if the second verse of the sec-

^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 1.

ond chapter of Luke be so rendered, as to imply, that the levying of the tax, according to the description mentioned in the former verse, was first executed, while Cyrenius was governour of Syria, this will remove all difficulties, and the text can well bear this interpretation.

[N.B. *The following paragraph, which is not in the editions of this history printed in the author's lifetime, but has been found in a later, the Editors have thought proper to subjoin by way of note.*]

This year, in which Christ was born, is, according to the exactest computation (that of the archbishop Usher,) the four thousandth from the creation; which falls in exactly with the time, where an old tradition of the Jews placeth the beginning of the days of the Messiah: for* it saith, that the world was to last six thousand years, of which two thousand years were before the law, and two thousand years under the law, and the last two thousand years were to be under the Messiah. This tradition is said to be of great antiquity, and is still retained with great veneration among that people, as one of the most authentical of this sort. But its pretending to foretell, when the world shall end, which the Scriptures† tell us, God hath reserved as a secret to himself, sufficiently proves the vanity of it. However, since the Jews give such credit thereto, as to place it among the most authentic of their traditions, it serves against them, first, to prove the time, when, according to their own doctrine, the Messiah was to come; secondly, to convict them of their gross and most perverse infidelity, in that, whereas Christ having been born in the four thousandth year of the creation, from which, according to this tradition, the time of his appearance was to begin, they have now suffered above seventeen hundred years to pass, and have not yet acknowledged him. In answer hereto,‡ they confess, that the four thousandth year of the creation, was the time from whence the days of the Messiah were to begin, and that this was the very time which was pointed at by the prophecies of the Old Testament for the time of his coming; but say,§ that the fulfilling of them hath been delayed by reason of their iniquities. But this is contrary to a general received doctrine among them; for they hold,¶ that when God foretells them of evil to come, he doth not always bring it to pass; for, on the repentance of sinners, he often repents of the evil denounced against them,|| as in the case of the Ninevites, and remits his threats, and pardons the offenders. But that, when he foretells good things to come, he never fails of their performance. And, for this reason,|| in the trial of a prophet, they make it a certain sign of a false prophet, if the good which he foretells be not exactly accomplished, but not so in a prophecy of evil things: for they say, that God often abates of his threats, but never of his promises. And indeed there is this reason for it, that promises transfer a right to them to whom they are made to expect their performance; but threats give no right to any one to demand their execution, but leave it still in the power of the threatener to drop or abate whatsoever he hath threatened, according as he shall see cause for the same.

* Talmud in Tract. Sanhedrin, c. 11.

† Matth. xxiv, 36.

‡ Hultius de Tempore Adventus Messie, lib. 2, pars 8.

§ Maimonides in Prefatione ad Ceder Zeraim, quam videas Latine versam in Pocockii porta Moris.

¶ Jonah iii, 10.

|| Maimonides ibid, p. 27—31.

Wise men^h from the East, of the sect of the Magians, following the guidance of a star, came and worshipped Christ at Bethlehem; and thereon followed Herod's design to destroy him, the flight of Joseph and Mary into Egypt with him to prevent it, and the murder of the innocents at Bethlehem, in the manner as related by St. Matthew in his gospel. Macrobius, a writer of the fifth century, tells us,ⁱ that among those innocents, Herod slew a young son of his own; and that thereon Augustus made this reflection,—that it was better to be Herod's hog than his son. But it is not likely that Herod should have a child so young as those innocents at the age he was then of; the death of Antipater which happened about that time, considered with that of Alexander and Aristobulus formerly put to death by him, may rather be thought to have given the occasion for that sarcasm.

For Antipater^k being returned from Rome into Judea without knowing what had been discovered against him, was, on his arrival arrested and taken into custody; and being before Quintilius Varus, then newly arrived in those parts to succeed Sentius Saturninus in the presidency of Syria, convicted of his treasonable designs for the poisoning his father, had sentence of condemnation passed upon him; which being confirmed by Augustus, he was accordingly put to death upon it; and, five days after that execution, died Herod himself in the seventieth year of his age, after he had reigned, from the time of his being declared king at Rome, thirty-seven years, and from the death of Antigonus, thirty-four. His death happened towards the end of this year, or else in the beginning of the next: for it appears from^l Josephus, that the Paschal feast, which was always celebrated in the beginning of the spring, followed soon after.

^h Matth. ii, 1, 2. The country of the Magians being in Persia, it is most likely they came from thence, and from those parts of it which lie about Balsora, that place lying directly east from Jerusalem.

ⁱ Saturnal. lib. 2, c. 4.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 7, 9; et de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 20, 21.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 11.

Knowing the hatred the Jews had for him, he concluded aright, that there would be no lamentation at his death, but rather gladness and rejoicing for it all the country over. To prevent this,^m he framed a project and resolution in his mind, which was one of the horridest and most wicked, perchance, that ever entered into the heart of man. For having issued out a summons to all the principal and eminentest Jews of his kingdom, commanding their appearance at Jericho (where he then lay) on pain of death, at a day appointed, on their arrival thither, he shut them all up in the circus, and then sending for Salome his sister, and Alexas her husband, commanded them, that as soon as he should be dead, they should send in the soldiers upon them, and put them all to the sword; for this, said he, will provide mourners for my funeral all over the land, and make the Jews in every family thereof lament at my death, whether they will or no; and when he had adjured them hereto, some hours after he gave up the ghost, and died. But Salome and Alexas not being wicked enough to do what they had been made solemnly to promise, rather chose to break their obligation, than make themselves the executioners of so bloody and horrid a design. And therefore, as soon as Herod was dead, they opened the circus, and permitted all that were shut up in it to return again every man to his own home, without any wrong done to any of them. The history of this his most wicked design takes off all objection against the truth of his murdering the innocents, which may be made from the incredibility of so barbarous and horrid an act. For this thoroughly shews, that there can nothing be imagined so cruel, barbarous, and horrid, which this man was not capable of doing. In most of his actions, as described in this history, may be read the character of a most bloody, cruel, and wicked tyrant; but in none more than in these two. And the disease of which he died, and the misery which he suffered under it, plainly shew, that the hand of God was then in a very signal manner upon him,

^m Idem, lib. 17, c. 8; de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 21.

for the punishment of them. The account which Josephus,ⁿ and from him Eusebius, gives us of it, is as followeth:

“Herod’s disease grew yet more and more bitterly violent; God exacting this vengeance upon him for the punishment of the many great enormities he had been guilty of. He had a slow fever, not shewing itself so much to the outward touch and feeling, as more grievously burning him within. Moreover, he had a strong canine appetite for meat, which nothing could satisfy. His bowels were ulcerated, especially the colon gut, from whence he suffered grievous pains. His feet being swoln, from thence issued forth a phlegmatic and shining humour. Moreover, the disease had seized the lower part of his belly, an ulcer broke out in his genitals, breeding worms and lice; besides he had a shortness of breath, and that very stinking and unsavoury. And he had also a troublesome flux of rheum, and with it an asthmatic difficulty of breathing. And the patient not having strength to bear all this, there followed a convulsion of all the parts of his body.” And thus he died in horrible pain and torment, smitten of God in this signal and grievous manner for his many enormous iniquities. And that most others of the great persecutors of God’s people have died the like manner of death,^o hath been already observed.

Herod had nine wives,^p and by them many children. Three of his sons he put to death. Of the rest of his posterity I shall mention only such as are named in the Scriptures; and they are these following. Of Malthace, one of his wives, he had Archelaus,^q and Herod Antipas;^r by Cleopatra, another of his wives, he had Philip;^s and by Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, the high priest, Herod Philip.^t Aristobulus,

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 8. Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 1, c. 8. See also a like description of Herod’s disease in Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 21.

^o Part 2, book 3.

^p Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 18, et Antiq. lib. 18, c. 7.

^q Matt. ii, 22.

^r Matt. xiv, 1, 2, 3, 6. Mark vi. Luke iii, viii, ix, xiii, xxiii. Acts iv, 27.

^s Luke iii, 1.

^t Matt. xiv, 3. Mark vi, 17.

whom Herod put to death, had, by Berenice his wife, king Agrippa,^u (who slew James the brother of John, and^x afterwards was smitten of God at Cæsarea) and Herodias^y his sister; she first^z married Herod Philip her uncle, and afterwards eloped from him to marry Herod Antipas his brother. By her first husband she had Salome,^a who danced off John Baptist's head, for reproving Herod Antipas for his incestuous adultery with her mother. To this king Agrippa I. was born king Agrippa II.^b (before whom Paul pleaded his cause,) and his two sisters Drusilla and Berenice; the first of which^c was wife to Felix the procurator or governour of Judea, and^d the other was present with her brother at Cæsarea, when Paul's cause was there heard before him. Herod's kingdom, after his death, was divided between Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Philip, his abovementioned sons. Archelaus had Judea,^e Idumea, and Samaria; Philip, Auranitis, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Batanea; and Herod Antipas, Galilee, and Perea.

After Herod's death,^f Joseph being warned by an angel in a dream, arose, and took the young child and his mother, and returned out of Egypt into the land of Israel; and there he and Mary his wife settled again at Nazareth in Galilee, the place of their former habitation; and there Jesus grew up and dwelt with them, till the time that he entered on his public ministration.

Anno 3.
Archelaus 1.

And having thus brought down this work to the birth of our Saviour, and here given a full account of it, I should leave what henceforth ensues to the Christian ecclesiastical historian, to whom it properly belongs. But that the connexion of the Old Testament with the New not seeming fully to be made, but where the grand prophecies concerning the Messiah, which we have in the Old Testament, are completed in the New, I am necessitated, so far as this requires, to go

u Acts xii, 1, 2.

x Acts xii, 20—23.

y Matt. xiv, 3. Mark vi, 17.

z Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 7.

e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 13.

f Matt. ii, 19—23.

a Matt. xiv, 6—11. Mark vi, 21, 22—28

b Acts xxv, 26.

c Acts xxiv, 24.

d Acts xxv, 23.

See also Matt. ii, 22. Luke iii.

into the times of the gospel; but shall treat of them only in respect to the events in which these prophecies are fulfilled, and such particulars as lead to the explication of them, and that in so short a manner as I can. For a fuller history of those times, I refer the learned reader to the centuriators of Magdeburgh and Baronius' Annals; and the English reader to the ecclesiastical history of Mr. Laurence Eachard, which is the best of its kind in the English tongue for the times which it treats of.

The Armenians rebelling, and the Parthians confederating with them for their support, Augustus^g sent Caius Cæsar, his grandson, a youth only of nineteen years old, into the East against them.

Who, from Egypt (where he first went,) passing through Judea in his way towards Armenia,^h would not offer any sacrifice at Jerusalem, expressing by this refusal the contempt which he had for the Jewish religion; which Augustus approving of, commended him for it.

The Christian era begun four years after the birth of Christ. How this era was first brought into use by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, and how he mistook in the wrong placing the beginning of it, hath been already shewn in the preface to the first part of this history. As I have hitherto reckoned by the years before the beginning of this era, so henceforth I shall reckon by the years after it.

Tiberiusⁱ was recalled from Rhodes in the eighth year of his retreat thither, and returned again to Rome.

Caius Cæsar having received a wound in Armenia,^k on his return from thence, died of it at Limyra, a city of Lycia. Lucius his brother having been sent into Spain,^l died at Mar-

^g Zonarus ex Dione.

^h Sueton. in Octavio, c. 93. Orosius, lib. 7, c. 3.

ⁱ Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 13.

^k Velleius Pater. lib. 2, c. 102. Tacitus Annal. lib. 1, c. 3.

^l Velleius Patercul. ibid. Tacitus, ibid. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 65.

seilles in his way thither the year before. They were the sons of M. Agrippa, by Julia, Augustus' daughter; and therefore being his grandsons, were adopted by him, and intended for his successors in the empire. For which reason, it is supposed, their death^m was procured by the fraud of Livia, the wife of Augustus, to make way for Tiberius her son by her former husband, to be his successor in their stead.

The Julian calendar, on the leaving out of the third superfluous year, in manner as hath been above related,ⁿ was again brought into due order, and hath so continued ever since in the countries where it is observed.

Anno 4.
Archelaus 7.

Augustus, on the death of Caius and Lucius his grandsons, adopted Tiberius,^o and thereby pointed him out for his successor in the empire. Livia had another son by her former husband, called Drusus, who died ten years before, while, in the time of his second consulship, he was following the German wars. He having left behind him a son of great worth, named Germanicus,^p Augustus, when he adopted Tiberius, at the same time forced him to adopt this Germanicus.

Archelaus having committed many great and tyrannical mal-administrations in his government, ambassadors^q came to Rome, both from the Jews and the Samaritans, to accuse him hereof before Augustus; whereon he was called to Rome to answer for them.

Anno 7.
Archelaus 10.

On his appearing there, not being able to justify himself before the emperour, but being found guilty of all that was charged against him,^r he was deposed from his principality, had all his goods condemned to be confiscated, and he himself was banished to Vienna in Gallia, after he had reigned in Judea ten years.

Anno 8.
Augustus 38.

^m Tacitus Annal. lib. 1, c. 3.

ⁿ Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1, c. 14. Solinus, c. 3.

^o Velleius Patercul. lib. 2, c. 103. Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 21.

^p Suetonius in Tiberio, c. 15. Tacitus Annal. lib. 1, c. 3. Dion Cassius, lib. 55.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 15, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 2.

^r Joseph. ibid.

Hereon Augustus,^s having appointed Publius Sulpitius Quirinius (who, according to the Greek way of writing that name,^t is by St. Luke called Cyrenius) to be president of Syria, sent him into the East to seize the country which Archelaus had hitherto reigned over, and reduce it to the form of a Roman province; and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was sent with him to take on him the government of it, under the title of procurator of Judea. On their arrival at Jerusalem, they seized all Archelaus' goods, according to the sentence of confiscation passed against him by Augustus, and having in a great part abolished the Jewish policy, established the Roman in its stead, and Coponius took on him, in the name of Augustus, the administration of it, but still in subordination to the president of Syria, Judea being made a part of that province. After this,^u the power of life and death was taken out of the hands of the Jews, and placed wholly in the Roman procurator, and his subordinate officers; and taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the Roman emperor. The description and registration of every man's possession was made eleven years before by Sentius Saturninus; but the laying and levying of the taxes according thereto was not put in execution till that country was reduced into the form of a Roman province by Cyrenius, then governor of Syria, in the manner I have mentioned. The raising of these taxes^x caused great disturbances among the Jews, many opposing it, some under the notion of an universal liberty that they were to have no king but God; and others, that they were not to own a king, by paying taxes to him that was of a foreign nation, because the law commanded^y not to set a stranger, which is not of their brethren, to be king over them. The first was headed by one Judas of Galilee,^z a turbulent and seditious man, of whom mention is made in the Acts of the apostles (v, 37,) but

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 1.

^t Strabo writes it *Kopîνης*, lib. 12, p. 569.

^u John xviii, 31. See Lightfoot on this place.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 1, 2, et de Bello Judaico, lib. 2, c. 12.

^y Deut. xvii, 15.

^z Joseph. *ibid.*

he was soon cut off, and all his followers suppressed. But the other notion of not owning a foreigner to be their king still remained; for it was a doctrine held and taught by the Pharisees, the predominant sect of the Jews, and from them imbibed by the generality of that people. And hence it was, that, in the time of our Saviour's ministration, they had made it a question,—whether they were to pay tribute to Cæsar or no? For though they were forced to submit hereto, yet as to the legality of the thing they generally held it in the negative. And this was the reason that the publicans, that is, those of that nation who were employed under the Romans for the gathering of those taxes, were in so great odium and detestation among them; for they looked on their employment as a constant breach of their law, and them, for their acting therein, as apostates from it, and the worst of men, such as were not to be drank or eaten with, or admitted to common conversation. And hence it is, that in the gospels we find publicans and sinners so often joined together, and our Saviour so often reproached for conversing with them.

At the same time that Cyrenius was in Judea, on the settling this matter of the tax,^a he deposed Joazar, the son of Boethus, from being high priest, and appointed Annas, the son of Seth, to succeed him in that office; in which he continued several years.

In the same year while this was doing,^b our Saviour being then in the twelfth year of his age, went up to Jerusalem with Joseph and Mary to the passover, and there first appeared in his prophetic office, and the business of his Father on which he was sent, in sitting among the doctors in the temple, and there declaring the truth of God unto them. This was the first signal coming to his temple, foretold by the prophet Malachi,^c whereby, according to the prophet Haggai,^d the glory of this latter house was made to be much greater than that of the former. He had been personally

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 3.

^b Luke ii, 41—49,

^c Malachi iii, 1.

^d Haggai ii, 9.

there before, but now first ministerially, as the Messenger of the covenant, whereby the messages of life and salvation were revealed unto men. And on this his coming began to be fulfilled that signal prophecy of Jacob,^e The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come. That by Shiloh is here meant the Messiah, is on all hands agreed: and, at the time of this his coming, Cyrenius having reduced Judea into the form of a Roman province, and, instead of their former governors of their own nation, placed a Roman procurator over them; then began the fulfilling of this prophecy, which, sixty-two years after, was fully completed in the destruction of Jerusalem; for then, that is, at the time of this reduction of Judea to a Roman province, the sceptre and the lawgiver from between their feet began to be taken from them; of which, in the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem by Titus, they were wholly deprived, and have never since had them again restored.

For the fuller explication of this prophecy, and of the manner of its completion, these following particulars are to be observed. First, by the sceptre in Judah is meant the sovereignty in it; and by a lawgiver from between his feet, the administration of justice by those of that same nation, and according to their own laws: and both put together, imply such a political constitution of government, as that whereby a nation is governed by its own princes, and by its own laws; and this was that which was not to depart from Judah till Shiloh should come. Second, this constitution of government all Israel was possessed of, from their coming out of Egypt, to the time of the prevailing of the Assyrian empire, they being till then under their own princes (that is, first judges, and afterwards kings,) and governed by their own laws. But, third, when the kings of Assyria had extended their empire on this side the Euphrates, as far as Palestine, ten of the tribes of Israel being carried into captivity, the sceptre then departed from those

^e Gen. xlix, 10.

tribes, and the lawgiver from between their feet: for their princes and their laws being then taken away from them, they were never after that any more a people; but being scattered among the heathen nations of the East, their name and their nation were absorbed and lost in them, and they have never since been any more heard of. But, fourth, the tribe of Judah, though they fell under the like captivity, yet afterwards returned from it into their own land, and had their sceptre and lawgiver again restored to them: for being there embodied again under the same constitution of government, they had again princes of their own to be rulers over them, and the administration of justice under them by their own laws,^f in the same manner as before; and so they continued without interruption (excepting only the three years and an half of Antiochus' persecution,) till the time that Coponius was made procurator of Judea. But then the power of life and death being taken from them,^g and placed in a foreign governour, and justice being thenceforth administered by the laws of Rome, instead of those of their own nation, then truly began the sceptre to depart from Judah, and the lawgiver from between his feet; and this departure was fully completed in the destruction of Jerusalem sixty-two years after, and therein this prophecy had its entire accomplishment. Till then, some few remains of their power were still left among them: for they had still their sanhedrim or national council, and they had still their high priest, with some shadow of authority still lodged in both; and, in the administration of justice, some regard was still had by the Roman governours to their old national law. But, after the temple and city of Jerusalem were destroyed by Titus, all this was absolutely and wholly abolished; and from that time neither the sceptre nor the lawgiver hath been any more found among them. For although near sixteen hundred and fifty years are now past since that destruction, and great numbers of this people swarm all over the

^f See the charter they had for this from Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, Ezra vii.

^g John xviii, 31.

world, yet they have never been able to embody again into a nation, either in their own or any other land; or have they to this day ever found a place where they could re-establish their old constitution of law, or have a prince of their own to govern them by it. As to their *Æchmalotarcha* at Babylon,^h if that officer be still there in being, he is no more than their *Alabarcha* was at Alexandria, their *Ethnarcha* at Antioch, or their *Episcopus Judæorum* in England, that is, the head of that sect in that place, without sword or sceptre, or any power of coercion, or authority of jurisdiction, but what he hath by the voluntary submission of the Jews of that country, which was the old Babylonish province. And therefore nothing can be more vain, than what the Jews urge as to this matter, that is, that in this *Æchmalotarcha* is still preserved both the sceptre and the lawgiver in the tribe of Judah; and that therefore the prophecy of Jacob abovementioned is not yet fulfilled, nor the Messiah as yet come.

But against what I have here said of the explication and fulfilling of this prophecy it may be objected, that after the Babylonish captivity we find none, excepting Zerubbabel, to have had the government of the Jewish nation that were of the tribe of Judah; that the high priests had mostly the regency of the land, who were of the tribe of Levi; and that, after the Asmonean princes, Herod and Archelaus his son reigned in Judea, who were descendants of the Idumeans, and not of any of the tribes of Israel. To this I answer, that, after the captivity, the tribe of Judah swallowed all else that were left of the other tribes of Israel, and all from that time were called Jews, and reckoned as of the sons of Judah. And as to Herod, Nicolaus of Damascus,ⁱ who lived in his court, attests him to have been descended from one of those Jewish families which returned from the Babylonish captivity.

^h That is, the head of the captivity. Such an officer the Babylonish Jews had, to whom they paid a voluntary submission. He was always chosen by them out of the house of David. But this office hath been long since antiquated, though some of the Jews pretend, that it is there still in being even to this day.

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14, c. 2.

But whether this were so or not, it is no where denied, but that he was descended from ancestors, who had by proselytism been long ingrafted into the name and nation of the Jews, and thereby been made at least adopted sons of the tribe of Judah; and therefore he cannot be reckoned as a stranger to it.

The sum therefore is: the sceptre and the lawgiver remained among the Jews till both began to be taken from them by the Romans, on their reducing Judea into the form of a Roman province; and then Christ, the Shiloh promised, began his coming, as the Messiah, by then first entering on his Father's business, for which he was sent. And that this exactly fell in with the time of this change, plainly appears: for Christ was then in the twelfth year of his age;^k and the twelfth year from Christ's birth was that whereon Coponius entered on his government. For Herod lived one year after the birth of Christ, and after the death of Herod Archelaus reigned ten years,^l and the next year after, the Romans seized Judea, and made it a province of their empire. Christ therefore first appeared in the temple as the Messiah at that very time when the sceptre and the lawgiver first began to depart from Judah; and sixty-two years after that, this departure was fully completed in the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the utter abolishing of the whole Jewish policy and constitution of government in that land, which hath never since either there or any where else been again revived.

Marcus Ambivius^m was sent by Augustus to be procurator of Judea, in the place of Coponius.

And this same year died Salome, the sister of Herod, a woman who, by her crafty and malicious intrigues, had caused great mischief in her brother's family.

Anno 10.
Augustus 40.

Tiberius,ⁿ was admitted into copartnership of command and sovereignty with Augustus in all the provinces and armies of the Roman empire, and a decree passed both the senate and

Anno 12.
Augustus 42.
Tiberius 1.

^k Luke ii, 42.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17, c. 15.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 3.

ⁿ Velleius Patercul. lib. 2, c. 121. Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 21.

people of Rome to confirm him in it. And from hence the fifteenth year of Tiberius, mentioned in the gospel of Luke, is to be reckoned.

Anno 13.

Augustus 43. Tiberius 2. Judea, sent thither Annius Rufus to be procurator of that province in his stead.

Anno 14.

Augustus 44. Tiberius 3. Augustus Cæsar,^o died at Nola in Campagna, on the 19th of August, after he had lived seventy-six years wanting thirty-five days; for he was born on the 23d of September, in the 63d year before the Christian era, and died on the 19th of August in the 14th year of that era. The time of his reign was just fifty-six years, reckoning it from the time of his entering on his first consulship, which was on the same day of the year in which he died; but if we reckon it from the Actiac victory, his reign will then be forty-four years wanting fourteen days; for that victory was gained on the 2d of September, and the day of his death was the 19th of August, as hath been already here mentioned. And the Actiac victory being that which gave him the whole Roman empire, and absolute sovereignty over it, by that we here reckon the years of his reign after the deposition of Archelaus, and the making Judea a province of the Roman empire. On his death,^p he was succeeded by Tiberius, the son of Livia his wife by her former husband. He had been made his partner before in the supreme command of the provinces and armies, but now the whole empire devolved on him, and that not only in the provinces and armies, but also in the sovereign city of Rome itself, and thereby he became in the same manner as Augustus had been before, lord of all. He was fifty-five years old when he first entered on this succession, and reigned from this time over the whole Roman empire, twenty-two years seven months and seven days.^q

^o Velleius Patercul. lib. 2, c. 123. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 100. Tacitus, lib. 1, c. 5, 7. Dion Cassius, lib. 56, p. 589, 590.

^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 3. Velleius Patercul. lib. 2, c. 124. Taciti Annal. lib. 1, c. 7. Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 24. Dion Cassius, lib. 57.

^q Dion Cassius, lib. 58, p. 659.

Tiberius^r sent Valerius Gratus into Judea, to be procurator of that province in the place of Annius Rufus; in which government he continued eleven years.

Anno 15.

Tiberius {4.
1.

The death of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and of Antiochus, king of Commagena, and Philopater, king of Cilicia, which all happened the same year, causing some disturbances in those countries,^s Tiberius laid hold on this occasion to recall Germanicus from his Germanic legions, (where he feared his power and interest with the soldiery) to send him into the East, pretending that those disturbances could no otherwise be removed than by the wisdom of Germanicus; and therefore caused a decree to pass the senate, whereby was committed to his charge the government of all the provinces of the East beyond the Ægean sea.

Anno 17.

Tiberius {6.
3.

Germanicus,^t passing into the East, reduced Cappadocia and Commagena into the form of Roman provinces; and having quieted the disturbances that were in Armenia, made Zeno, the son of Polemon king of Pontus, king of that country, to the great satisfaction both of the nobility and populace of it, he having been bred among them, and made himself always acceptable to them. After this he marched into Syria, and there took up his winter quarters. Cn. Piso was then president of that province. He was sent thither^u at the same time that Germanicus went into the East; and his private commission from Tiberius was, to be a curb and a check upon Germanicus, and to create him all the trouble and vexation he was able; and he failed not executing to the utmost all that was given him in charge as to this matter.

Anno 18.

Tiberius {7.
4.

Germanicus in the spring passed from Syria into Egypt,^x and there took a view of all the curiosities of that country, sailing up the Nile from Canopus, as far as the borders

Anno 19.

Tiberius {8.
5.

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 3.

^s Taciti Annal. lib. 2, c. 5, 42, 43. Joseph. ibid.

^t Taciti Annal. lib. 2, c. 54, 56. Sueton. in Caligula, c. 1.

^u Taciti Annal. lib. 2, c. 55.

^x Taciti Annal. lib. 2, c. 59, 60, 61.

of Ethiopia. On his return into Syria,^y he fell sick, and died at Antioch of poison administered to him by the fraud of Piso and Blancina his wife; so Germanicus complained in his sickness, and so it was generally thought; and it was not doubted, but that it was by secret instruction from Tiberius himself,^z that this villainous act was done. Germanicus had by many eminent qualifications gained the esteem and affection of all men to an high degree: this produced such an envy and jealousy in Tiberius, that he could not rest, till by these treacherous means he had procured his death. This caused a general grief and mourning all over the empire,^a especially at Rome, and also a rage and wrath equal thereto against Piso and his wife, the supposed authors of his death.

And therefore, as soon as they returned to Rome,^b they were both arraigned for it before the
 Anno 20. Tiberius {^{9.} senate. But Piso there finding his con-
 {^{6.} demnation unavoidable, fell on his own
 sword to prevent the sentence, and so died by his
 own hands.

Valerius Gratus^c having removed Annas from being
 Anno 23. high priest, after he had been fifteen years
 Tiberius {^{12.} in the office, substituted Ismael, the son of
 {^{9.} Fabus, in his place.

But, in the next year after, being displeased with
 Anno 24. this choice,^c he again removed Ismael, and
 Tiberius {^{13.} promoted to this office Eleazar the son of
 {^{10.} that Annas whom he had lately deposed
 from it.

But, after a year's time,^c he removed him also, and
 Anno 25. made Simon the son of Camith high priest
 Tiberius {^{14.} in his stead, who continued in this office
 {^{11.} no longer than his predecessor.

For the next year after,^c was appointed to succeed
 him, by the same Gratus, Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas,^d

^y Idem, lib. 2, c. 69, 70, 71, 72. Sueton. in Caligula, c. 1.

^z Sueton. in Caligula, c. 2.

^a Tacitus Annal. lib. 2, c. 71, 72. Sueton. in Caligula, c. 5, 6.

^b Idem, lib. 3, c. 10—15. Dion Cassius, lib. 57, p. 615.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18, c. 3.

^d John xviii, 3.

the son-in-law of Annas abovementioned; which two^e were the high priests that are spoken of in the gospels to have had the chief hand in the prosecuting of our Saviour to his crucifixion. And this same year Valerius Gratus being recalled, ^f Pontius Pilate was sent by Tiberius to be procurator of Judea in his stead, a man thoroughly prepared for all manner of iniquity; which he accordingly executed through his whole government. Philo Judæus^g chargeth him to have been guilty therein of selling justice, and giving any sentence for money, of rapines, of injuries, of murders, of unjust tormentings, of putting men arbitrarily to death, without process or sentence of law, and of excessive cruelty through his whole administration; and, by such an hardened temper of iniquity, he was thoroughly fitted for the giving of that unjust sentence, whereby he condemned to death him that is the Lord of life.

Anno 26.
Tiberius {^{15.}
^{12.}

This year was the fifteenth year of Tiberius, from the time that he was admitted to reign in copartnery with Augustus. And this was that fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius mentioned by Luke,^h in which John the Baptist first preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.ⁱ And therein the gospel of Jesus Christ had its beginning:^k for Christ appeared for the revealing of this gospel, first by this his messenger sent before his face, to prepare the way for his personal appearance; which was accordingly made by him three years and an half after. First, therefore, John the Baptist begun the ministry of the gospel in this fifteenth year of Tiberius, and continued in it for three years and an half; that is, he begun it about the time of the Paschal feast, and continued it till the feast of Tabernacles in the fourth year after. And then, John being cast into prison,^l Christ appeared to take it on him in person, and personally carried it on three years and an half more. So that the whole term

^e Luke iii. 2. Acts iv. 6. John xviii. 13, 24.

^f Joseph. *ibid.*

^g In Libro de Legatione ad Caium.

^h Luke iii. 1.

ⁱ Luke iii. 3. Mark i. 4.

^k Mark i. 1.

^l Matt. iv. 13, 17.

of Christ's ministry, while he was here on earth, as executed first vicariously by John, his forerunner, and afterwards personally by himself, was exactly seven years; and these seven years constituted the last of the seventy weeks in Daniel's prophecy.^m How at the beginning of this week ended the sixty-two weeks of this prophecy, which pointed out the time of the coming of Christ in the ministry of his gospel, and how this last week then begun, and how in that week the covenant was confirmed with many, and how in the last half of it the Levitical sacrifices and oblations were made to cease, and in the conclusion of the said weeks the Messiah was cut off, hath been already shewn in the first part of this history; and therefore I need not here again repeat it.

At the time appointed by this prophecy, Christ became a sacrifice for us, to make reconciliation for our iniquities, and died upon the cross for the expiation of them; and thereby having purchased his spiritual kingdom over us, he took possession of it on his resurrection from the dead, for then his church, which is his kingdom, had its beginning; and therein were fulfilled two other of Daniel's prophecies relating to this his kingdom, the first contained in the second chapter of that prophet, and the other in the seventh; both which foretold, that the kingdom of the Messiah should come on, and grow upon the decay of that of the Romans. For the four kingdoms set forth by the four metals of Nebuchadnezzar's image in the first of those prophecies, and by the four beasts in the other, are meant the four monarchies of the Babylonians, the Persians, the Macedonians, and the Romans; and that, after the decay of the kingdom of the Romans, the kingdom of the Messiah should commence, is plainly expressed in both these prophecies. For what is said of the king of the next succeeding kingdom, in the first of these prophecies, that *his kingdom should never be destroyed,*ⁿ *but should stand for ever*; and, in the second of them, that *there was given to him dominion and glory,*^o and

^m Daniel ix.

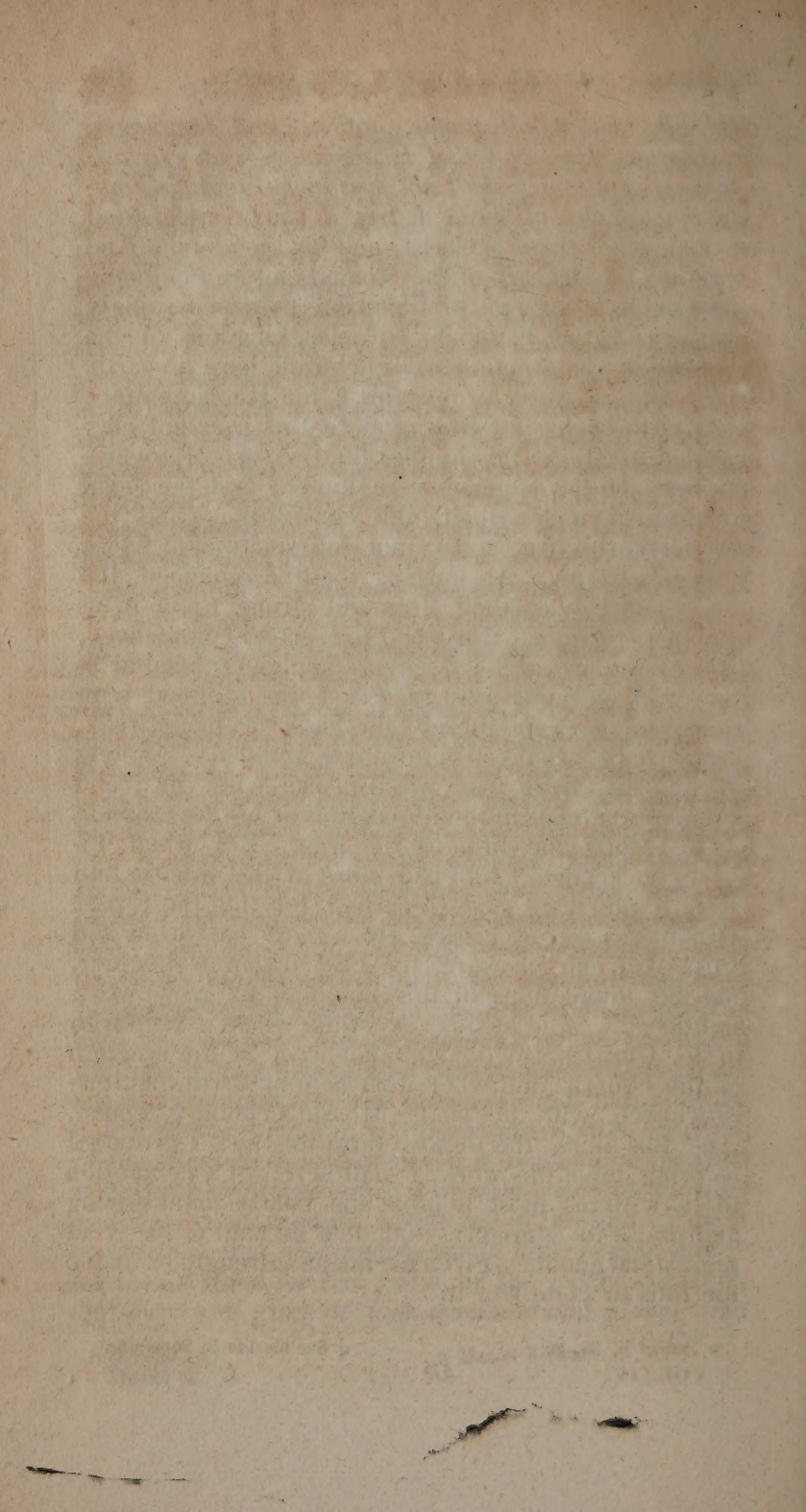
^o Daniel vii, 14.

ⁿ Daniel ii, 44.

a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him, and that his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, can be understood of none other than of Christ, and his kingdom. And therefore the strength of the Roman empire beginning to decay in the reign of Tiberius, then accordingly commenced the beginning of the kingdom of the Messiah in the erection of his church here on earth. In the first of these prophecies,^p the Roman empire is set forth by legs of iron, and feet of iron and clay mingled together; this implies the two sorts of governments which the Romans were under; first the legal government under their old constitution, and the other the arbitrary, and tyrannical government under their emperours. As long as the first remained, the empire of Rome stood firm and strong upon it, as upon legs of iron. But when the second commenced, and in the place of legal government succeeded arbitrary will and pleasure, then clay was mingled with iron in the feet; and thereby the basis was made weak, on which the whole structure was founded. As long as Augustus lived, who was a prince wise, just, and clement, the clay in the foundation of his government was as strong and firm as the iron. But when Tiberius succeeded,^q who had more of the beast in him than of the man, and governed for the most part without reason or justice, by a most barbarous and cruel will and pleasure, the clay began to moulder, and the foundations of this kingdom to grow weak and decay. And at this very time when it begun so to do, Christ's kingdom commenced, in the erection of this church; and where that begun, there the Jewish church, with the whole Mosaic economy, ended. And this being the utmost term to which I proposed to bring down this work, I shall here put a conclusion to it, with my most humble and hearty thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God, that he hath of his great mercy and goodness given me life and strength to enable me thus to complete it.

^p Daniel ii, 33, 40.

^q See his life in Suetonius.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

TO THE

SECOND PART OF THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	High Priests of the Jews	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus	Kings of Syria.	Events
4423	291	Eleazar.	1	14	22	ELEAZAR, the brother of Simon the Just, succeeds him in the high priesthood at Jerusalem.
4	290		2	15	23	
5	289		3	16	24	
6	288		4	17	25	Demetrius makes great preparations to recover his father's dominions in Asia and the East.
7	287		5	18	26	His army revolting from him, he is driven out of Macedon, and makes a desperate attempt upon Asia; wherein, failing of success, he is brought into great distress.
8	286		6	19	27	Demetrius is forced to yield himself prisoner to Seleucus.
9	285		7	20	28	Ptolemy Soter resigns his kingdom to Philadelphus, his younger son; whereon Ceraunus, the elder, flies out of Egypt, first to Lysimachus, and afterwards to Seleucus.
4430	284		8	1	29	The watch-tower of Pharos finished, and the worship of Serapis first brought into Egypt. Ptolemy Soter dies.
1	283		9	2	30	Seleucus and Lysimachus prepare for war against each other.
2	282		10	3	31	Seleucus takes Sardis, and makes himself master of Lesser Asia.
3	281		11	4	32	Lysimachus is slain in battle by Seleucus.
4	280		12	5	33	Seleucus is slain treacherously by Ptolemy Ceraunus, who thereon becomes king of Macedon.
5	279		13	6	34	Antiochus Soter succeeds Seleucus. The Gauls make an irruption into Greece, vanquish and slay Ptolemy Ceraunus; are vanquished and expelled by Sosthenes.
6	278		14	7	35	The Gauls make a second irruption into Greece under the command of Brennus. They are vanquished and ruined.
7	277		15	8	36	The remains of the Gauls pass into Lesser Asia, and there settle in Galatia. The Hebrew Scriptures first translated into Greek.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	High Priests of the Jews.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucius.	Kings of Syria.	
4438	276	1	9	37	4	Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius, succeeds Sosthenes in the kingdom of Macedon.
9	275	2	10	38	5	Antiochus vanquisheth the Gauls, and thereby frees Lesser Asia from their ravages; hence he is called Soter, that is, the Saviour.
4440	274	3	11	39	6	The Romans having, after a six years' war, driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, began to be of great renown in the East, whereon Ptolemy sent an embassy to them to pray their alliance.
1	273	4	12	40	7	The Romans send an embassy to Ptolemy, and make an alliance with him.
2	272	5	13	41	8	Pyrrhus slain at Argos.
3	271	6	14	42	9	
4	270	7	15	43	10	
5	269	8	16	44	11	
6	268	9	17	45	12	Philadelphus, and the Athenians and Lacedemonians, make war upon Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedon, now grown powerful since the death of Pyrrhus, but without success.
7	267	10	18	46	13	Sodates, the lewd poet, put to death.
8	266	11	19	47	14	
9	265	12	20	48	15	Magas, governour of Libya and Cyrene, for Ptolemy Philadelphus his brother, rebels, and makes himself king of these countries.
4450	264	13	21	49	16	Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy, king of Egypt, make war upon each other.
1	263	14	22	50	17	Philoterus, the first founder of the Pergamenian kingdom, dies, and is succeeded by Eumenes, his brother's son. Antigonus of Socho, president of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, dies.
2	262	15	23	51	18	Nicomedia in Bithynia built by Nicomedes, king of that country. Eumenes overthrows Antiochus and thereby establisheth himself at Pergamus.
3	261	16	24	52	19	Antiochus Soter dies at Antioch, and is succeeded by Antiochus Theus his son.
4	260	17	25	53	1	Antiochus vanquished and slew Timarchus, tyrant of Ephesus. Berosus, the famous Babylonian historian, flourished.
5	259	18	26	54	2	Ptolemy Philadelphus built Berenice, a port on the western shore of the Red sea, and thereby drew all the trade of the East into Egypt, and Alexandria thenceforth became its principal mart.
6	258	19	27	55	3	Magas, king of Libya and Cyrene, made peace with Ptolemy, on terms of marrying his daughter, who was his only child, to Ptolemy's eldest son, and thereby uniting Libya and Cyrene again to Egypt.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ	High Priest of the Jews	Kings of Egypt.	of the Era of Seleucus	Kings of Syria.	
4457	257	20	28	56	4	Magas died, whereupon Apame, his widow, would, contrary to the late contract, have married her daughter to Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, late king of Macedon; but Demetrius being slain, the lady was sent into Egypt,
8	256	21	29	57	5	And Apame retiring into Syria, to Antiochus her brother, there excited him to a war against Ptolemy, which lasted several years, to his very great damage.
9	255	22	30	58	6	Ptolemy carries on the war against Antiochus by his lieutenants.
4460	254	23	31	59	7	Philadelphus is very diligent in gathering together books, pictures, and statues, for the adorning and replenishing of his museum and library, for which Aratus the Sicyonian was one of his agents in Greece.
1	253	24	32	60	8	
2	252	25	33	61	9	
3	251	26	34	62	10	Manasseh, the high priest of the Jews, dying towards the end of this year, was succeeded by Onias, the second of that name, the son of Simon the Just.
4	250	1	35	63	11	While Antiochus was pursuing his war against Ptolemy, the Parthians rebelled in the East, under the leading of Arsaces, who, on this occasion, first founded the Parthian empire. The Bactrians revolted at the same time.
5	249	2	36	64	12	Peace was made between Ptolemy and Antiochus, on the terms that Antiochus divorced Laodice his former wife, and married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy.
6	248	3	37	65	13	Arsinoe, the sister and beloved wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, dies.
7	247	4	38	66	14	Ptolemy Philadelphus dies in the end of the year, and is succeeded by Ptolemy Euergetes, his son.
8	246	5	1	67	15	Antiochus puts away Berenice, and recalls Laodice, who poisons him, cuts off Berenice and her son, and makes Seleucus Callinicus, her son, king. Euergetes, for revenge hereof, marcheth into Syria, slays Laodice, and reduceth under him a great part of the Syrian empire.
9	245	6	2	68	1	Callinicus, having provided a great fleet for the reducing of the revolted cities of Asia, loseth it all in a storm, whereon those cities, out of compassion to his case, returned again to him.
4470	244	7	3	69	2	Callinicus being overthrown in a great battle by Ptolemy, calls in Antiochus Hierax his brother, to his assistance.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ	High Priests of the Jews.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4471	243	8	4	70	3	Ptolemy maketh peace with Seleucus Callinicus.
2	242	9	5	71	4	Hierax maketh war upon Callinicus, his brother, and overthrows him in a battle near Ancyra; and is immediately after, while sore of that battle, fallen upon, and overthrown, by Eumenes of Pergamus.
3	241	10	6	72	5	Eumenes of Pergamus dies, and is succeeded by Attalus, his uncle's son, who first took the style of king. While the two brothers in Syria war against each other, Arsaces seizeth Hyrcania, and adds it to Parthia.
4	240	11	7	73	6	Hierax, being overcome by Callinicus, flees first into Cappadocia, and from thence into Egypt, where he is made a prisoner by Ptolemy.
5	239	12	8	74	7	Ptolemy applies himself to augment his library at Alexandria, and makes Eratosthenes his library-keeper.
6	238	13	9	75	8	
7	237	14	10	76	9	
8	236	15	11	77	10	Seleucus Callinicus marcheth into the East, to reduce the Parthians, but returns without success, being recalled by some commotions in Syria.
9	235	16	12	78	11	
4480	234	17	13	79	12	
1	233	18	14	80	13	
2	232	19	15	81	14	
3	231	20	16	82	15	
4	230	21	17	83	16	Seleucus makes a second expedition against Arsaces, and is vanquished and taken prisoner.
5	229	22	18	84	17	
6	228	23	19	85	18	
7	227	24	20	86	19	
8	226	25	21	87	20	Onias sends Joseph, his nephew, on an embassy to king Ptolemy. Joseph farms of that king all his revenues of Cæle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea.
9	225	26	22	88	1	Seleucus Callinicus, being dead in Parthia of a fall from his horse, is succeeded in Syria by Seleucus Ceraunus, his eldest son.
4490	224	27	23	89	2	Seleucus marcheth into Lesser Asia, to make war upon Attalus, king of Pergamus.
1	223	28	24	90	3	He is there poisoned by those about him. Acheus revengeth his death upon the authors of it.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	High Priests of the Jews.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Seleucus.	The Era of Syria.	Kings of Syria.	
4492	222	29	25	91	Antiochus Magnus.	1	Antiochus, brother of Seleucus, succeeds him. Makes Hermias his chief minister, Acheus governour of Lesser Asia, and Alexander and Molon, two brothers, governours of Persia and Media. The colossus at Rhodes overthrown.
3	221	30	1	92		2	Euergetes being dead, is succeeded by Philopater, his son. Alexander and Molon rebel. Antiochus sends an army against them, and marcheth with another into Cœle-Syria. His former army is beaten, and the other returns without success.
4	220	31	2	93		3	Antiochus goes in person against Alexander and Molon, vanquisheth and destroys them both. Acheus rebels, and usurps Lesser Asia. Hermias put to death.
5	219	32	3	94		4	Antiochus takes Seleucia, Tyre, Ptolemais, and Damascus, and thereby makes himself master of almost all Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia.
6	218	33	4	95		5	Antiochus vanquisheth Nicolas, Ptolemy's lieutenant in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, and makes himself master of all Galilee, Samaria, and the land beyond Jordan, as far as Rabbah of the children of Ammon.
7	217	1	5	96		6	Ptolemy overthrows Antiochus in a great battle at Raphia, and recovers again all Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. Ptolemy comes to Jerusalem, and would have entered into the inner temple, is forbid by Simon, the high priest.
8	216	2	6	97		7	Peace being made with Antiochus, and Ptolemy again returned to Alexandria, he would have destroyed all the Jews of Egypt. He is providentially hindered. Antiochus vanquisheth Acheus, and shuts him up in Sardis.
9	215	3	7	98		8	Antiochus takes Sardis, puts Acheus to death, and recovers all Lesser Asia.
4500	214	4	8	99		9	
1	213	5	9	100		10	A rebellion in Egypt. It was mastered by Ptolemy.
2	212	6	10	101		11	Antiochus marcheth into the East, to reduce the Parthians and other revolted provinces. He recovers Media, and drives Arsaces thence, who had lately seized that province.
3	211	7	11	102		12	Antiochus pursues Arsaces into Parthia, and drives him thence into Hyrcania.
4	210	8	12	103		13	Pursues him into Hyrcania, and there besiegeth and takes Syringis.
5	209	9	13	104		14	Antiochus and Arsaces waste each other in divers conflicts, neither gaining any considerable advantage over the other.

Julian Period	Years before Christ.	High Priests of the Jews	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4506	208	10	14	105	15	Antiochus growing weary of the war with Arsaces, makes peace with him, and yields to him Parthia and Hyrcania.
7	207	11	15	106	16	Antiochus makes war with Euthydemus, king of Bactria. Ptolemy Philopater gives himself wholly up to a most profligate course of life at Alexandria.
8	206	12	16	107	17	Antiochus makes peace with Euthydemus, marcheth into India, reneweth there his league with Sophagasenus, the king of that country, and winters in Caramania.
9	205	13	17	108	18	He returns through Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, unto Antioch, and there takes the name of the Great, for his success in this expedition.
4510	204	14	Ptolemy Epiphanes.	1	109	19 Ptolemy Philopater being dead, is succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes, an infant of five years old. Agathoclea the concubine; and Agathocles the favourite of the late king, are slain in a tumult.
11	203	15		2	110	20 Antiochus, and Philip king of Macedon, make a league to seize all Ptolemy's dominions, and divide them between them, and Antiochus accordingly seized Palestine and Cœle-Syria.
12	202	16		3	111	21 Scipio vanquished Hannibal in Africa. Hereon the Alexandrians, finding the power of the Romans to be great, implore their protection for their infant king, and offer them the tuition of him, which the Romans accept of.
13	201	17		4	112	22 The Romans send M. Emilius Lepidus into Egypt to take care of the affairs of the infant king, who, having settled them under the ministry of Aristomenes, an Arcanian, returns to Rome.
14	200	18		5	113	23 Aristomenes sent Scopas into Greece to hire mercenaries, who brought thence six thousand stout Ætolians into Ptolemy's service.
15	199	19		6	114	24 Antiochus waging war with Attalus, king of Pergamus, Aristomenes took the advantage of it to send Scopas into Palestine and Cœle-Syria, who recovers Jerusalem, Judea, and many other places, to king Ptolemy.
16	198	20		7	115	25 Antiochus, having made peace with Attalus, returns into Cœle-Syria; vanquisheth Scopas in a great battle at Paneas, near the fountains of Jordan, and recovers all that was lost the former year.
17	197	21		8	116	26 Antiochus goes with a great fleet and army into Lesser Asia, in order to make war upon the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, dies, and is succeeded by Eumenes, the eldest of his four sons.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	High Priests of the Jews.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4518	196	22	9	117	27	Antiochus passeth the Hellespont, seizeth the Thracian Chersonesus, and rebuilds Lysimachia. Scopas lays a dangerous plot against king Ptolemy. He is discovered and put to death.
19	195	1	10	118	28	Hannibal comes to Antiochus, and confirms him in his resolution of making war upon the Romans. Simon, the high priest of the Jews, being dead, is succeeded by Onias the Third, his son.
4520	194	2	11	119	29	Eratosthenes, the library-keeper at Alexandria, being dead, is succeeded in that office by Apollonius Rhodius.
1	193	3	12	120	30	Antiochus marries his daughter Cleopatra, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt.
2	192	4	13	121	31	Antiochus, king Antiochus' eldest son, dieth at Antioch. Antiochus passeth into Greece to make war with the Romans.
3	191	5	14	122	32	Antiochus marries his host's daughter at Chalcis; is beaten by Acilius, the Roman consul, at Thermopylae, and forced to a precipitate flight by sea into Asia. His fleet beaten near Mount Corycus.
4	190	6	15	123	33	Antiochus' fleet beaten near Myonesus. Lucius Scipio passeth the Hellespont, vanquisheth Antiochus near Mount Sipylus, and forceth him to an ignominious peace.
5	189	7	16	124	34	The Romans give the provinces of Caria and Lycia to the Rhodians, and all the rest of Lesser Asia to Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Manlius succeeds L. Scipio in Lesser Asia.
6	188	8	17	125	35	Manlius vanquisheth the Gauls of Lesser Asia, and reduceth them into order.
7	187	9	18	126	36	Hyrcanus is sent by Joseph, his father, on an embassy to king Ptolemy, on the birth of his eldest son. Antiochus is slain while he attempted to rob the temple of Jupiter in Elymais.
8	186	10	19	127	1	Seleucus Philopater succeeds him in Syria. Ptolemy poisons Aristomenes, and makes Polycrates his chief minister in his stead, and gives himself up to all manner of looseness.
9	185	11	20	128	2	Ptolemy, by his mal-administrations, drives the Egyptians into a rebellion.
4530	184	12	21	129	3	Masters it by the wisdom and valour of Polycrates.
1	183	13	22	130	4	Ptolemy, after having granted the revolted nobility terms of peace, and thereby gotten them within his power, perfidiously puts them all to death.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	High Priests of the Jews.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4532	182	14	23	131	5	
3	181	15	24	132	6	Ptolemy, as he was preparing for the war against Seleucus, king of Syria, is poisoned by those about him, and dies.
4	180	16	1	133	7	Ptolemy Philometor, his eldest son, an infant of six years old, succeeds him, under the tuition of Cleopatra his mother.
5	179	17	2	134	8	Philip, king of Macedon, dying, is succeeded by Perseus, his son.
6	178	18	3	135	9	
7	177	19	4	136	10	Perseus, king of Macedon, marries Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, king of Syria.
8	176	20	5	137	11	Simon, the protector of the temple, quarrels with Onias, the high priest; is driven out of Judea; flees into Syria, and brings Heliodorus to rob the temple. Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, an hostage at Rome, exchanged for Demetrius, the son of Seleucus.
9	175	1. 21	6	138	1	Seleucus, king of Syria, being dead, is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes, his brother, newly returned from Rome. Jason buys the high priesthood of him, and supplants Onias, his brother.
4540	174	2. 22	7	139	2	Jason introduceth heathen rites into Jerusalem, and sends offerings to Hercules of Tyre.
1	173	3. 23	8	140	3	Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, dies. The tuition of the young king falls into the hands of Lennaus and Eulaus. They demand of Antiochus the restitution of Coele-Syria and Palestine, and thereby cause a long war between the two kings.
2	172	1. 24	9	141	4	Menelaus, another brother of Onias, supplants Jason, and buys of Antiochus the high priesthood; whereon Jason flies to the Ammonites.
3	171	2	10	142	5	Onias is put to death at Antioch. Lysimachus, Menelaus' deputy at Jerusalem, slain in a tumult. Antiochus makes his first expedition into Egypt, and gains a great victory near Pelusium.
4	170	3	11	143	6	Antiochus makes his second expedition into Egypt, gains another victory, and makes himself master of all Egypt, except Alexandria. Philometor being fallen into the hands of Antiochus, the Alexandrians make Physcon king. Antiochus, on his return, sacks and miserably destroys Jerusalem.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Princes of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4545	169	4	12	144	7	Antiochus makes his third expedition into Egypt. Attempts the siege of Alexandria without success. Philometor being left in Egypt, to make war with Physcon, comes to an agreement with him upon terms that they should jointly reign together.
6	168	5	13	145	8	Antiochus makes his fourth and last expedition into Egypt. Is forced by the Romans to return. Apollonius, sent by him to complete the ruin of Jerusalem, built the fortress on Mount Acra. Antiochus begins his persecution of the Jewish religion. Mattathias and his sons take arms against him.
7	167		14	146	9	The seven Maccabean brothers and their mother martyred, and the persecution against the Jews is violently carried on.
8	166	1	15	147	10	Mattathias being dead, Judas is made captain of the Jews in his stead. He vanquisheth Apollonius and Seron. Antiochus went into the East. Nicanor and Timotheus, two of his captains, vanquished by Judas.
9	165	2	16	148	11	Judas vanquisheth Lysias; recovers Jerusalem and the sanctuary; restores the daily worship; institutes the feast of the dedication; and fortifieth Bethsura against the Edomites.
4550	164	3	17	149	Antiochus Eupator.	1 Antiochus Epiphanes being dead in the East, is succeeded by Antiochus Eupator, his son, under the tuition of Lysias. Judas vanquisheth the Edomites and Ammonites; overthrows and slays Timotheus, and relieves the Jews in Gilead.
1	163	4	18	150	2	Judas vanquisheth Lysias the second time; overthrows another Timotheus in Gilead, and forceth Lysias, in his third expedition against him, to terms of peace. Meneleus is slain, and Alcimus made high priest in his stead.
2	162	5	19	151	Demetrius Soter.	1 Demetrius returns from Rome, seizeth the kingdom of Syria, slays Eupator and Lysias, sends first Bacchides, and after that Nicanor against the Jews.
3	161	6	20	152	2	Nicanor vanquished and slain by Judas, and all his army cut off to a man. Bacchides, being sent to revenge this blow, slays Judas in battle, and miserably oppresseth the Jews. Jonathan made their captain instead of Judas.
4	160	1	21	153	3	Alcimus dying, Bacchides returns, and the Jews thereon enjoy peace for two years.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Princes of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4555	159	2	22	154	4	Demetrius drives Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, out of his kingdom, and makes Holophernes king in his stead. Eumenes king of Pergamus, dies, and is succeeded by Attalus, his brother.
6	158	3	23	155	5	Bacchides came again into Judea. Being worsted by Jonathan and Simon at the siege of Bethbasi, makes peace with the Jews, and returns.
7	157	4	24	156	6	Ariarathes is restored by Attalus, and Holophernes flees to Antioch.
8	156	5	25	157	7	Physcon obtains a decree from the senate of Rome against his brother.
9	155	6	26	158	8	By virtue whereof he lands with an army in Cyprus, is there vanquished and taken prisoner, but is restored to Libya and Cyrene by the kindness of his brother.
4560	154	7	27	159	9	Demetrius giving himself wholly up to sloth and luxury, and neglecting the government, loseth the affection of his people; whereon Alexander Balas, an impostor, sets up against him.
1	153	8	28	160	10	He being owned by the Romans, lands at Ptolemais, and great numbers revolt to him. Jonathan declares for him, and is made high priest.
2	152	9	29	161	11	Demetrius, in the first conflict, gets the better of Alexander; but Alexander having the kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, and Egypt on his side, is soon again recruited by them.
3	151	10	30	162	12	Andriscus, another impostor, sets up in Macedon, pretending to be the son of Perseus. The war is carried on in Syria between Demetrius and Alexander.
4	150	11	31	163	1	Demetrius vanquished and slain in battle; whereon Alexander, being settled in the kingdom of Syria, marries Cleopatra, the daughter of king Ptolemy.
5	149	12	32	164	2	Onias, the son of Onias, builds a temple in Egypt, like that at Jerusalem. A sedition at Alexandria between the Jews and the Samaritans.
6	148	13	33	165	3	Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, lands in Cilicia for the recovery of his father's kingdom. Apollonius, one of his generals, vanquished by Jonathan in Phenicia.
7	147	14	34	166	4	Hipparchus of Nicea in Bithynia, the famous astronomer, flourisheth.
8	146	15	35	167	5	Ptolemy comes to the assistance of Alexander, finding a plot laid for his life, is alienated from him, and joins with Demetrius. Alexander being vanquished, flies into Arabia, and is there slain, and Ptolemy dies of his wounds.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	High Priests of the Jews.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4569	145	16	Ptolemy Physcon.	1	168	1 Physcon succeeds in Egypt, and reigns cruelly. Demetrius doth the same in Syria; the Antiochians mutiny against him; are quelled by three thousand Jews sent to Demetrius' assistance. Jonathan besiegeth the fortress at Jerusalem, but cannot take it.
4570	144	17		2	169	2 Tryphon brings Antiochus, the infant son of Alexander, into Syria, and claims for him his father's crown. Multitudes revolt to him. Jonathan declares against Demetrius, and twice defeats his generals, and is treacherously murdered by Tryphon.
1	143	Simon.	1	3	170	3 Simon succeeds Jonathan. Tryphon, having made away Antiochus, declares himself king. Simon defeats his designs upon Judea; and, declaring for Demetrius, hath a grant from him of the sovereignty of Judea.
2	142		2	4	171	4 Simon takes the fortress of Jerusalem, utterly demolisheth it, and digs down the hill on which it stood.
3	141		3	5	172	5 Demetrius goes into the East, and is there taken prisoner by the Parthians. The sovereignty of Judea confirmed to Simon and his posterity, by the unanimous consent of all the people of the Jews in a general congregation met at Jerusalem.
4	140		4	6	173	1 Queen Cleopatra, on Demetrius' being taken prisoner, sent to Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of the captive king, and offers him herself in marriage, and the crown of Syria with her.
5	139		5	7	174	2 Antiochus accepting of the offer, lands in Syria, marries Cleopatra, and, having vanquished Tryphon, takes him, and puts him to death. Cendebeus is sent by him against Simon, and is vanquished by Judas and John, Simon's sons.
6	138		6	8	175	3 Attalus, king of Pergamus, being dead, is succeeded by Attalus, the son of his brother Eumenes. He was a monster of cruelty, and Physcon continued to be the like monster in Egypt.
7	137		7	9	176	4 Antiochus Sidetes, with great wisdom and temper, restores the affairs of Syria, and makes that kingdom again to flourish.
8	136		8	10	177	5 The Alexandrians, to avoid the cruelty of Physcon, most of them desert the place. Whereon other inhabitants are invited to re-people it. An embassy from Rome came thither to him at the same time.

Julian period.	Years before Christ.	Princes of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of S leucus	Kings of Syria.	
4579	135	John Hyrcanus.	11	178	6	Simon is basely murdered, with two of his sons, by Ptolemy his own son-in-law. John succeeds his father, and defeats the murderer of his design of usurping the government. Antiochus Sidetes besiegeth Jerusalem, and maketh peace with John. This John is called Hyrcanus.
4580	134		2	179	7	Ambassadors from Antiochus Sidetes address themselves with presents, to Scipio Africanus junior, then at the siege of Numantium, which he puts into the public treasury.
1	133		3	180	8	Attalus, king of Pergamus dies, and makes the people of Rome his heirs.
2	132		4	181	9	Jesus, the son of Sirach, translates out of Hebrew into Greek the book called Ecclesiasticus, written by Jesus, his grandfather.
3	131		5	182	10	Antiochus Sidetes marcheth into the East against the Parthians, and at first gets several victories over them.
4	130		6	183	1	Antiochus Sidetes is vanquished and slain in the East. Demetrius Nicator returns, and recovers his kingdom. John Hyrcanus shakes off the Syrian yoke, and makes himself independent; takes Sechem, and destroys the temple on Mount Gerizim. Physcon expelled out of Egypt for his cruelty.
5	129		7	184	2	Hyrcanus conquers the Edomites, and makes them all embrace the Jewish religion. Phraates, king of Parthia, slain by the Scythians.
6	128		8	185	3	Ptolemy Physcon vanquisheth the Egyptians, and recovers his kingdom. Demetrius marcheth into Egypt, and besiegeth Pelusium. Hyrcanus renews his league with the Romans.
7	127		9	186	4	Physcon sets up Alexander Zebina, an impostor, against Demetrius, to claim the crown of Syria; whereby Demetrius is recalled from the siege of Pelusium, to defend his own kingdom.
8	126		10	187	5	Demetrius, vanquished by Zebina in battle, flies to Tyre, and is there slain. Zebina hereon becomes king of Syria.
9	125		11	188	1	A great plague in Libya, Cyrene, and adjacent countries, caused by a multitude of locusts.
4590	124		12	189	2	Seleucus, the eldest son of Demetrius, succeeded his father; is slain by Cleopatra, his own mother. Mithridates Eupator succeeds Mithridates Euergetes in the kingdom of Pontus.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Princes of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4591	123	13	23	190	Antiochus Grypus.	1 Antiochus Grypus, second son of Demetrius, is set up to be king of Syria against Zebina.
2	122	14	24	191		2 Antiochus Grypus, vanquisheth Zebina, and recovers all Syria. Zebina taken in his flight, and slain.
3	121	15	25	192		3 In this year was made the famous Opimian wine.
4	120	16	26	193		4 Cleopatra, preparing poison for her son Grypus, was forced to drink it herself, and so died.
5	119	17	27	194		5
6	118	18	28	195		6
7	117	19	29	196		7 Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, dies. Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds, in conjunction with Cleopatra his mother, in Egypt and Cyprus; and Apion, a bastard son, in Libya and Cyrene.
8	116	20	1	197		
9	115	21	2	198		
4600	114	22	3	199		
1	113	23	4	200		
2	112	24	5	201		
3	111	25	6	202		
4	110	26	7	203		
5	109	27	8	204		
6	108	28	9	205		

Kings of Damascus.	
8	
9	
10	Antiochus Cyzicenus.
11	1 Antiochus Cyzicenus, son of Antiochus Sidetes, by Cleopatra, and half brother of Grypus, seizeth part of the Syrian kingdom.
12	2 Grypus gets a victory against Cyzicenus. Alexander, the second son of Physcon, made king of Cyprus, by Cleopatra his mother.
13	3 Cyzicenus, having recruited his army, fights another battle with Grypus, and gains the victory. Grypus flees out of the kingdom to Aspendus.
14	4 Grypus returned from Aspendus, and recovered part of his former dominions; henceforth Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Cyzicenus at Damascus.
15	5 Aristobulus and Antigonus, sons of Hyrcanus, besiege Samaria. Cyzicenus, coming to its relief, is vanquished by the two brothers.
16	6 Cyzicenus, having received six thousand auxiliaries from Egypt, again attempts the relief of Samaria, but without success. Samaria is taken and demolished. Hereon Hyrcanus makes himself master of all Judea, Samaria, and Galilee.
17	7 Hyrcanus breaks with the Pharisees, and goes over to the sect of the Sadducees.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Princes of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	Kings of Damascus.	
4607	107	29	10	206	17	8	Hyrcanus dies, and is succeeded by Aristobulus, his eldest son, who first of his family wore the diadem, and took the name of king. Lathyrus expelled Egypt, reigns in Cyprus, and Alexander in Egypt.
8	106	1	11	207	18	9	Aristobulus conquers Iturea; slays his brother Antigonus; dies, and is succeeded by Alexander Janneus, his brother. Pompey and Cicero born at Rome.
9	105	1	12	208	19	10	Alexander Janneus besiegeth Ptolemais. Lathyrus passing from Cyprus into Palestine with an army, forceth him to raise the siege.
4610	104	2	13	209	20	11	Alexander Janneus, vanquished by Lathyrus, lost most of his army in the defeat, and is brought to great distress; calls in Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, to his assistance.
11	103	3	14	210	21	12	Cleopatra comes with a fleet and army into Palestine, against Lathyrus her son; besiegeth Ptolemais. Lathyrus invades Egypt, expecting to make himself master of it in his mother's absence in Palestine.
12	102	4	15	211	22	13	Lathyrus is beaten out of Egypt. Cleopatra takes Ptolemais. Janneus there waits on her. After this, passing over Jordan, he lays siege to Gadara.
13	101	5	16	212	23	14	Ptolemy Lathyrus returns into Cyprus, and Cleopatra into Egypt. Grypus marrying Selene, the daughter of Cleopatra, and receiving great sums of money with her, renews his war with Cyzicenus. Janneus takes Gadara and Amathus, but is defeated by Theodorus.
14	100	6	17	213	24	15	Janneus takes Raphia and Anthedon, and blocks up Gaza.
15	99	7	18	214	25	16	
16	98	8	19	215	26	17	Janneus besiegeth Gaza, which is vigorously defended.
17	97	9	20	216	27	18	Janneus takes Gaza, puts the inhabitants to the sword, and razeth the place to the ground. Grypus treacherously murdered by one of his own domestics; is succeeded by Seleucus, his eldest son.
18	96	10	21	217	1	19	Ptolemy Apion, king of Libya and Cyrene, dies, and leaves the Roman people his heirs. Cyzicenus, on the death of Grypus, seizeth Antioch. Seleucus makes head against him.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Princes of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	Kings of Damascus.	
4619	95	11	22	218	2	20	Tigranes begins to reign in Armenia. The Jews mutiny against Alexander Janneus in the temple, at the feast of tabernacles, whereon he slew six thousand of them.
4620	94	12	23	219	3	21	Janneus made the inhabitants of Gilead and the land of Moab to become subject to him. Seleucus having vanquished Cyzicenus, took him prisoner, and put him to death.
1	93	13	24	220	4	Antiochus Eusebes.	1 Antiochus Eusebes, the son of Cyzicenus, vanquisheth Seleucus, and forceth him to fly to Mopsnestia, where he is slain. Philip, his brother, succeeds him, is vanquished by Eusebes at the river Orontes, but again recruits.
2	92	14	25	221	Philip.	1	2 Eusebes marries Selene, the widow of Grypus; is vanquished by Philip, and flies into Parthia. Demetrius, a fourth son of Grypus, seizeth Damascus. Janneus vanquished by Obodas, an Arabian king, with the loss of almost all his army.
3	91	15	26	222	2	Demetrius Eucherus.	1 Hereby the Jews being encouraged to rebel, begun a war against him, which lasted six years. Mithridates begun those hostilities upon the allies of the Romans, which produced the Mithridatic war.
4	90	16	27	223	3		2 Mithridates marries his daughter Cleopatra, to Tigranes, king of Armenia; whereon Mithridates gets him into a confederacy against the Romans, and seizeth Cappadocia and Bithynia.
5	89	17	28	224	4		3 Mithridates vanquisheth three Roman armies, and seizeth all Lesser Asia. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, murdered by Alexander, her son; whereon Lathyrus is recalled. The Jews, by the help of Demetrius Eucherus, vanquish Alexander.
6	88	18	29	225	5		4 Demetrius being vanquished by his brother Philip, and sent captive into Parthia, Alexander recovers strength against the Jews. Mithridates passeth his army into Greece, there to make war against the Romans.
7	87	19	30	226	6	Ant. Dionysius.	1 Demetrius Eucherus dies in Parthia. Eusebes returns into Syria, and again recovers some part of that country. Antiochus Dionysius, the youngest son of Grypus, seizeth Damascus. Alexander Janneus gains a decisive victory over his rebel subjects.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	Kings of Damascus.	
4628	86	20	31	227	7	2	Alexander Janneus having taken Bethome, in which the remains of the rebel party were shut up, crucifies eight hundred of them, and thereby puts an end to that war. Sylla, the Roman general, gets three victories over the forces of Mithridates, and drives them out of Greece.
9	85	21	32	228	8	3	Mithridates forced to make peace with the Romans on their own terms, and Sylla thereon returns to Italy. Philip takes Damascus. Dionysius again recovers it, but is afterwards slain in Arabia, and Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, is made king of Damascus. He vanquisheth Janneus in battle, but afterwards gives him peace.
4630	84	22	33	229	9		Alexander Janneus recovers many places that had revolted from him during his war with the rebels, and much enlargeth the borders of his kingdom. After Sylla's departure, Murena, whom he left in the government of the Proper Asia, begins war again with Mithridates.
1	83	23	34	230	1		The Syrians, weary of the wars caused among them by the Seleucidæ, expelled them all, and chose Tigranes, king of Armenia, to be their king. Eusebes fleeth into Cilicia. But Selene his wife, still holds Ptolemais, and some other parts thereabout. Alexander Janneus takes Gaulana, and other places beyond Jordan.
2	82	24	35	231	2		Alexander Janneus still carries on his conquests beyond Jordan; and, after having been absent three years from Jerusalem on these wars, returns thither with triumph. After this, giving himself up to luxury and drunkenness, he contracts a quartan ague, which he could never get entirely rid of.
3	81	25	36	232	3		Ptolemy Lathyrus having reduced Thebes in Upper Egypt, which had rebelled against him, dies, after having reigned thirty-six years. Ptolemy, a bastard son, succeeds him in Cyprus, and Berenice, his only legitimate child, in Egypt.
4	80	26	1	233	4		Alexander, the son of that Alexander who slew his mother, marries Berenice, and, in her right, becomes king of Egypt; but in a few days after slew her, and reigned as in his own right fifteen years.
5	79	27	2	234	5		Alexander Janneus, after having been afflicted with a quartan ague three years, dies of it, and is succeeded by Alexandra, his wife, who reconciles the Pharisees to

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus	Kings of Syria.	
4636	78	Alexandra.	1	3	235	6 her, and by that means reigns peaceably to the end of her life Alexandra, being settled on the throne, makes Hyrcanus, her eldest son, high priest, and puts the ministration of the government in the hands of the Pharisees. Tigranes, having built Tigranocerta, depopulates many cities in Lesser Asia, Assyria, and other circumjacent countries, by carrying the inhabitants thence to people it.
7	77		2	4	236	7 The Pharisees, having gotten the management of all affairs under queen Alexandra, grievously oppressed all that were of the party opposite to them.
8	76		3	5	237	8 Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying, leaves the Romans his heirs, who thereon reduce that kingdom into the form a province under them; and at this time do the same with Libya and Cyrene, formerly left them in the same manner by Ptolemy Apion, the last king in those countries.
9	75		4	6	238	9 Mithridates seizeth Paphlagonia, and draws the other provinces of Lesser Asia into a revolt from the Romans; whereon began the third Mithridatic war.
4640	74		5	7	239	10 M. Cotta and L. Lucullus are sent against Mithridates. Cotta had Bithynia, and Lucullus Proper Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, assigned to them for their provinces. Cotta begins the war unfortunately, being beaten with great loss both at sea and land.
1	73		6	8	240	11 Whereon Mithridates besiegeth Cyzicus. Lucullus forceth him to raise the siege, with the loss of the greatest part of his army. Selene sent her two sons which she had by Antiochus Eusebes to Rome, to claim the kingdom of Egypt in her right.
2	72		7	9	241	12 The Jews, which were of the party of Alexander, are placed in the forts and garrisons, there to be secured from the oppressions and cruelty of the Pharisees. Herod the Great is born. Mithridates, after raising the siege of Cyzicus, flees into Pontus, and his forces which he left behind on the Asian coast are vanquished by Lucullus both by sea and land. Lucullus pursues Mithridates into Pontus, and besiegeth Amisus.
3	71		8	10	242	13 Lucullus vanquisheth Mithridates, and forceth him to fly out of Pontus into Armenia. Aristobulus, being sent by his mother against Ptolemy, prince of Chalcis, seizeth Damascus.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	
4644	70	9	11	243	14	Selene enlarging herself in Syria, Tigranes comes with an army against her, and shuts her up in Ptolemais; and, having there taken her prisoner, puts her to death. Lucullus declares war against Tigranes, takes Synope and Amisus, and marcheth into Armenia. Alexandra, queen of Judea, dies. Hyrcanus, her eldest son, seizing the crown, is forced to quit it after three months to Aristobulus, his younger brother.
5	69	Aristobulus.	1	12	244	15 Lucullus vanquisheth Tigranes in Armenia, and takes Tigranocerta; but, neglecting to pursue the advantage of it, lost the opportunity of ending the war; which displeased the Romans, and lost his interest with them both in the camp and city.
6	68		2	13	245	16 Tigranes, with the assistance of Mithridates, gets another army into the field, and is again beaten by Lucullus; whereon Lucullus would have marched to Artaxata, the metropolis of Armenia; but, being hindered by his soldiers refusing to follow him so far north, he marched back, and, passing Mount Taurus, winters at Nisibis in Mesopotamia, where his army mutiny against him.
7	67	3	14	246	17	Of which Mithridates, taking the advantage, recovers several places in Pontus, and distresseth the Romans left there to keep the country; whereon Lucullus, with difficulty, prevails with his mutinous army to march to their relief; but, before their arrival, Triarius was beaten with the loss of seven thousand men. After this Lucullus' army would no more obey him.
8	66	4	15	247	18	Pompey sent from Rome to succeed Lucullus, receiveth from him the army, and Lucullus returns home enriched with great spoils. Pompey makes alliances with Phraates, king of Parthia. Vanquisheth Mithridates, and forceth him to fly into Scythia. Whereon, marching into Armenia, he forceth Tigranes to submit to him, and thereon gives him peace.
9	65	5	Ptolemy Auletes.	1		Pompey conquers the Iberians, the Albanians, and the Colchians. In the interim, Mithridates flees into his kingdoms beyond the Cimerian Bosphorus; where Pompey not being able to follow him, marcheth into Syria, and reduceth it to the form of a Roman province. The Egyptians, having expelled Alexander, make Auletes their king. Hyrcanus renews the war upon Aristobulus for the crown of Judea. Pompey winters in Pontus, and there sets out a fleet against Mithridates.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	
4650	64	6	2	On his return into Syria in the ensuing spring, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, each by their agents, apply to him for his assistance. He orders them to appear personally before him, for his taking cognizance of their cause; and returns again into Pontus to provide against the designs of Mithridates, who was making great preparations in Bosphorus for a new war. But, while he was eagerly labouring herein, his army revolts, makes Pharnaces his son king, and the old king is forced to kill himself, to make room for him to ascend his throne.
1	63	Hyrcanus.	1	3 On Pompey's coming to Damascus, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appear before him, each to make good their pretensions. Pompey promiseth to come to Jerusalem, there to decide the matter. Aristobulus, suspecting sentence would go against him, provides for war; whereon Pompey enters Judea, makes Aristobulus his prisoner, takes Jerusalem, and restores Hyrcanus; returns into Pontus, and makes peace with Pharnaces. Augustus Cæsar is born.
2	62		2	4 Scaurus, being made the first president of Syria, invades Arabia Petrea. By the means of Antipater, peace is made between him and Aretas, the king of that country. Pompey, having wintered at Ephesus, returns to Rome in the spring. Marcius Philippus is made president of Syria.
3	61		3	5 Pompey celebrates a very splendid and glorious triumph at Rome, for his victorious finishing the Mithridatic war. He chose for it his birth-day, being then forty-five years old.
4	60		4	6 Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar, confederate together, for the supporting of each other, and the dividing the Roman empire between them. Diodorus Siculus, the famous Greek historian, flourisheth. Lentulus Marcellinus succeeds Marcius Philippus in the presidency of Syria.
5	59		5	7 Julius Cæsar being consul, procures a decree of the people for his having Illyrium and both the Gauls for his province, to govern it as pro-consul for five years, which was the foundation whereon he built all his future power and grandeur.
6	58		6	8 Gabinius being consul this year, obtains Syria for his province. Cato is sent to drive Ptolemy out of Cyprus, and to take the confiscation of all his goods. The Egyptians expel Auletes, their king, and make Berenice, his daughter, queen. Cicero is banished Rome and Italy.
7	57		7	9 Berenice, queen of Egypt, marries Seleucus Cybotes, the last of the Seleucian family; but disliking him for his ill behaviour, puts him to death, and marries Archelaus, high priest of Comana in Pontus. Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and after him Aristobulus himself, having made their escape from the Roman fetters, each in their turn, raise new troubles in Judea. Gabinius vanquisheth them both, and sets up a new form of government in the land,

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	
4658	56	8	10	Orodes having murdered Phrahates, his father, succeeds in the kingdom of Parthia. Gabinus, having undertaken to restore Auletes to his kingdom of Egypt, marcheth his army that way. Antony, one of his lieutenants, being sent before him, takes Pelusium. Cicero is recalled from his banishment.
9	55	9	11	Gabinus, on having notice hereof, enters Egypt with all his forces, vanquisheth and slays Archelaus in battle, and restores Auletes. On his return, he suppresseth Alexander, who had raised new troubles in Judea during his absence in Egypt. Crassus, being consul, obtains the province of Syria for five years, and resolves on a war with the Parthians.
4660	54	10	12	Gabinus on his return to Rome, is there, for his mal-administrations in his province, condemned and banished. Crassus, on his coming into Syria, plunders the temple of Jerusalem; passeth the Euphrates, to make war upon the Parthians, and gains several advantages over them; placeth garrisons in several places in Mesopotamia, and then brings back the rest of his army into Syria, and there puts them into winter quarters.
1	53	11	13	Crassus again passeth the Euphrates, to carry on his war against the Parthians; is vanquished and slain by them in a great battle, with the loss of twenty thousand men slain, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Cassius his questor escapes, gathers together the remains of his broken army, and with them defends the province.
2	52	12	14	Cassius defeats an army of the Parthians that invaded Syria, marcheth into Judea, takes Terachea, forceth Alexander to terms of peace, and presseth the faction of Aristobulus in that country.
3	51	13	1	Cicero made governour of Cilicia, and Bibulus of Syria. Bibulus delaying his coming into his province, Cassius governs it. The Parthians besiege Antioch. Cassius defends it; forceth the enemy to raise the siege; and, falling on them in their retreat, gives them a great defeat, and slays therein Orsaces their general; and then returns to Rome on the arrival of Bibulus. Cicero vanquisheth the Cilicians of the mountains, and makes them submit. Ptolemy Auletes dies in Egypt, and is succeeded by Ptolemy, his eldest son, and Cleopatra, his eldest daughter, jointly together.
4	50	14	2	The Parthians again besiege Antioch, and Bibulus in it; are called back to suppress an insurrection at home; whereon Bibulus returns to Rome. Cæsar passeth the Rubicon, and the war broke out between him and Pompey; the latter retreats to Brundisium, and Cæsar there follows him. Q. Metellus Scipio succeeds Bibulus in the presidency of Syria.
5	49	15	3	Pompey gets out of Brundisium, and passeth the Adriatic. Cæsar hereon returns to Rome, releaseth Aristobulus, and sendeth him into Judea. Pompey's

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	
4466	48	16	4	party poison him, and Scipio puts Alexander to death at Antioch. Cæsar from Rome passeth into Spain, reduceth that country, and returns again to Rome about the time of the autumnal equinox; hasteneth from thence to Brundisium, and there passeth the Adriatic with seven legions against Pompey; leaves the rest at Brundisium, with Antony, to be brought after him. Cæsar having gotten over all the rest of his army, in the first beginning of the spring, he and Pompey encamped against each other at Dyrrachium. Cæsar receives a defeat, whereon he marcheth into Thessaly. Pompey follows him; and, in the plains of Pharsalia it came to a decisive battle between them, in which Pompey, receiving a total defeat, flees to Lesbos, and from thence to Egypt, where he is slain. Cæsar following him, comes to Alexandria, hath Pompey's head there presented to him. He there engageth in a dangerous war to support the cause of Cleopatra against her brother.
7	47	17	5	In this war, by the help of Antipater, and forces brought him out of Judea, he vanquished Ptolemy, and he being drowned in his flight, Cæsar makes Cleopatra queen of Egypt, and then, passing into Syria, makes Sextus Cæsar president of it; vanquisheth Pharnaces in Pontus, returns to Rome, and is there made dictator. Antipater, being appointed procurator of Judea, makes Herod, one of his sons, governour of Galilee, and Phasael, another of them, governour of Jerusalem. Herod, having put to death an eminent thief in Galilee, is put upon a trial for his life for it.
8	46	18	6	Cæsar passeth into Africa, and there subdues the remainder of Pompey's party, who had there retreated; gives order for the rebuilding of Carthage and Corinth; and then returns to Rome, and there reforms the Roman calendar. Cicilius Bassus raiseth troubles in Syria, procures Sextus Cæsar to be slain by his own soldiers, and then sets up to be president of Syria.
9	45	19	7	The first Julian year, Cæsar vanquisheth the sons of Pompey at Munda in Spain, and, on his return, is made perpetual dictator. Statius Murcus, sent by Cæsar to be president of Syria, carries on the war against Cicilius Bassus, and besiegeth him in Apamea.
4670	44	20	8	The walls of Jerusalem rebuilt. Cæsar slain in the senate-house at Rome. Octavianus, after called Augustus, heads his party at Rome, and drives Antony thence. Brutus and Cassius, the murderers of Cæsar, leaving Italy, the former seizeth Greece and Macedon, and the other Syria, where he puts an end to the war of Cicilius Bassus.
1	43	21	9	Octavianus vanquisheth Antony at the battle of Mutina; after that, he, Antony, and Lepidus, constitute a triumvirate. Brutus and Cassius prepare for war

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Kings of Egypt.	
4672	42	22	10	against them. Antipater poisoned by the fraud of Malichus. Phasael and Herod revenge his death, by cutting off the murderers.
				Brutus and Cassius, having made themselves masters of all beyond the Adriatic, as far as the Euphrates, Octavianus and Antony pass into Macedon against them, and, having vanquished them at Philippi, force them both to slay themselves. Hereon Octavianus returns to Rome, and Antony passeth into Asia. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, raiseth new troubles in Judea. He is vanquished by Herod.
3	41	25	11	The vanquished party apply to Antony, against the sons of Antipater, without success. Cleopatra comes to Antony at Tarsus, and there first bewitcheth him with her charms. His forces sent to plunder Palmyra meet with a baffle. Cleopatra returning to Alexandria, he follows after her, and there spends the ensuing winter. In the interim, Pacorus, with a Parthian army, masters all Syria and Phœnicia.
4	40	1. 24	12	Antony's friends having made war against Octavianus in Italy, and been vanquished by him, Antony passeth thither with a great fleet. On his marrying Octavio, the sister of Octavianus, peace is made between them. In the interim, the Parthians, having made themselves masters of all Lesser Asia and Syria, take Jerusalem, slay Phasael, make Hyrcanus prisoner, and settle Antigonus on the throne of Judea. Herod, flying to Rome, is there made king of Judea. Ventidius gaineth two victories over the Parthians.
5	39	2	13	Herod besiegeth Jerusalem, and there hardly presseth Antigonus. Ventidius gains a third victory over the Parthians, slaying about thirty thousand of them, and, among them, Pacorus, their general, the king's son: whereon he again recovers from them all Syria and Phœnicia. Antony returns into Syria, besiegeth Samosata; Herod goes thither to command in Judea; during his absence, fights the enemy against order, and is slain. Herod, on his return, revengeth his death, in a great victory over Pappus, Antigonus' general, slaying him in the battle, with the most of his army.
6	38	3	14	Antony, having spent the winter with Cleopatra at Alexandria, sailed from thence in the spring for Italy, and from thence back again into Syria, to make preparations for the Parthian war. Herod married Mariamne; and, in conjunction with Sosius, president of Syria, besiegeth Jerusalem with a close siege, and presseth it hard on every side.
7	37	Herod. 1	15	After an half year's siege, Jerusalem is taken. Antigonus is sent prisoner to Antony at Antioch, and there beheaded; and Herod is settled in the full possession of the kingdom of Judea. Orodes, king of Parthia, is murdered by Phrahates, his son, who thereon succeeds him in the kingdom. He releas-

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judæa.	Kings of Egypt.	
4678	36	2	16	P. Canidius, one of Antony's lieutenants, vanquisheth the Armenians, the Albanians, and Iberians, and carries his victorious arms as far as Mount Caucasus. Antony makes an unfortunate expedition against the Parthians, and returns with the loss of the major part of his army. Sextus Pompeius is vanquished, and driven out of Sicily, and Lepidus deposed from his triumvirate.
9	35	3	17	Antony, after his miscarriage in his Parthian expedition, spent some of the ensuing year at Alexandria in dalliances with Cleopatra. Herod makes Aristobulus, the brother of Mariamne, high priest, and afterwards murders him. Sextus Pompeius taken and put to death in Asia by the order of Antony.
4680	34	4	18	Herod in danger of being put to death by Antony, for the murder of Aristobulus, escapes by the means of large sums of money presented to Antony. Antony marcheth into Armenia; and, having there treacherously drawn Artabazes, king of that country, into his power, carries him in chains to Alexandria, and enters that place in triumph, and then distributes the eastern provinces of the Roman empire among the children of Cleopatra.
1	33	5	19	Disgusts happen between Antony and Octavianus, which broke out into a war, that ended in the ruin of Antony. Hereon Antony draws all his forces into Greece, and spends a great part of this year at Athens in making warlike preparations both by sea and land.
2	32	6	20	Octavianus drives all the friends of Antony from Rome. Hereon Antony sends a bill of divorce to Octavia; and other provocations are given on both sides to inflame matters for the ensuing war. All the East engageth on one side, and all the West on the other. Herod, by the order of Antony, makes war with Malchus, king of Arabia Petræa in the behalf of Cleopatra, and is worsted by him.
3	31	7	21	But, the next year after, having gained a complete victory over him, he brought him to his terms. Octavianus vanquisheth Antony and Cleopatra at Actium; whereon Cleopatra flees to Alexandria, and Antony repairs thither to her. Octavianus, having settled the affairs of Italy, Greece, and Lesser Asia, winters at Samos.
4	30	8	22	Herod addresseth himself to Octavianus, and makes his peace with him. Octavianus passeth through Lesser Asia and Syria to Pelusium; and, having taken that place, forceth Antony and Cleopatra to kill themselves. Hereon he reduceth Egypt into the form of a Roman province, and marching

1
Roman Emperor's
August. Caesar.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Roman Emperours.	
				from thence through Syria, takes up his winter quarters in Proper Asia.
4685	29	9	2	Octavianus returns to Rome, and enters it in three triumphs. Herod, in a fit of rage and jealousy, puts Mariamne, his beloved wife, to death, and afterwards bitterly repenteth of it.
6	28	10	3	Herod puts Alexandra, the mother of Mariamne, to death.
7	27	11	4	The monarchy of the whole Roman empire is, by the unanimous consent of the senate and people of Rome, conferred on Octavianus, with the name of Augustus, which he and his successors ever after bore.
8	26	12	5	Salome, the sister of Herod, informing him against Costobarus, her own husband, causeth him, with several others, to be put to death. Petronius is made prefect of Egypt in the place of Cornelius Gallus. Herod becomes an occasional conformist to the heathen rites, whereby he gives great offence to the Jews.
9	25	13	6	Herod rebuilds Samaria, and calls it Sebaste. Augustus' name growing great, many foreign nations send ambassadors to him to desire his friendship. A grievous famine happens in Judea; against which Herod takes great care to relieve his people, and thereby much ingratiates himself with them.
4690	24	14	7	Absolute and arbitrary power is given Augustus by the decree of the senate. Herod builds him a stately palace on Mount Zion. Elius Gallus begins his expedition into the Southern Arabia, for which Herod furnished him with five hundred men out of his guards.
1	23	15	8	Elius Gallus, having lost more than half his men in his march into the Southern Arabia, returns without success. Candace, queen of Ethiopia, invaded Egypt; is repulsed by Petronius, and pursued into her own country. Phrahates, king of Parthia, being expelled Parthia by his own people, is restored by the Scythians, and sends ambassadors to Augustus to pray his friendship. Herod builds Herodium.
2	22	16	9	Herod begins to build Casarea, which he finished in twelve years time; sends the sons of Mariamne to Rome for their education, and receives from Augustus, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea, in addition to his former dominions. Agrippa hath the government of the East committed to him. Herod waits on him at Mitylene. Herod, having suppressed the thieves of Trachonitis, is accused about it before Agrippa, which turns to the confusion of the accusers.
3	21	17	10	Augustus recalls Agrippa, marries his daughter Julia to him, and leaves him to govern the West, while he goes into the East. He winters at Samos, and there grants peace to Candace, queen of Ethiopia, whom Petronius had reduced to a necessity of there

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Roman Emperours.	
4694	20	18	11	Augustus passeth through Lesser Asia into Syria. Herod is there accused before him on the account of the Trachonites. Zenodorus, tetrarch of Paneas, and the Gadarens, who promoted the cause, failing in it, slay themselves, and Paneas is given to Herod. Phrahates, king of Parthia, for the obtaining of the friendship of Augustus, restores all the prisoners and ensigns taken in the wars of Crassus and Antony. After this, Augustus having settled all the affairs, he returns, and winters again at Samos.
5	19	19	12	While Augustus lay there, an embassy came to him from Porus, king of India, to pray his friendship. Augustus returned to Rome, and is there received with great honour, on the account of the restored ensigns and prisoners brought back with him. Herod proposed the new building of the temple at Jerusalem, and accordingly sets about the materials for it.
6	18	20	13	Elius Gallus, succeeding Petronius in the prefecture of Egypt, visits the upper parts of that country, as far as Ethiopia, having with him Strabo the geographer through all this progress.
7	17	21	14	Herod having, after two years' preparation, made ready all materials for the building of a new temple at Jerusalem, pulled down the old one. Augustus adopted Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa by his daughter Julia.
8	16	22	15	Herod fetched home from Rome Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons by Mariamne, and married the eldest of them to Glephyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the other to Berenice, the daughter of Salome his sister.
9	15	23	16	Agrippa being sent again into the East, Herod invites him into Judea, and there treats him with great splendour and magnificence.
4610	14	24	17	Agrippa wageth war with the Bosphorans, and having, by the assistance of Herod (who went thither in person to him with his forces,) subdued them, giveth that country to Ptolemy king of Pontus. In reward for this service, Herod procures from Agrippa to the Asiatic Jews a confirmation of all their privileges formerly granted to them.
1	13	25	18	Augustus, on the death of Lepidus, takes the office of high priest of Rome, and, by virtue thereof, examines the Sibylline books, and burns such as he judged spurious, and deposits the rest in the temple of Apollo, which he had built within the palace. Herod breaking with the sons of Mariamne, sets up Antipater against them. Agrippa returns to Rome, and Sentius Saturninus and Titus Volumnius have the presidency of Syria after his departure.
2	12	26	19	Agrippa is sent against the Pannonians, and, having reduced them to terms of submission, returns, and dies in Campania. Hereon Augustus marries his

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Roman Emperours.	
				daughter Julia to Tiberius, and makes him his assistant in the empire, in the same manner as Agrippa was before.
4073	11	27	20	The breach between Herod and his sons by Mariamne growing to a great height, Herod accuseth them before Augustus, who makes reconciliation between them. Herod returns to Jerusalem, gives an account hereof to the people, and names to them Antipater for his heir.
4	10	28	21	Herod having finished his works at Cæsarea, gives it that name, in the dedication of it, in honour of Augustus Cæsar. He builds also Cypron, Antipatris, Phasaelis, and the tower of Phasael at Jerusalem.
5	9	29	22	The Jews of Asia and Cyrene, being oppressed by their heathen neighbours, obtain relief of their grievances, and a further confirmation of their privileges. The breach between Herod and his sons by Mariamne is again revived, and carried by Herod to a great height.
6	8	30	23	Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, comes to Jerusalem, and makes another reconciliation between Herod and his sons. Herod goes to Rome to acquaint Augustus of it. In the interim, the Trachonite thieves make great ravages in his territories; but, being repulsed by Herod's lieutenants, fly into Arabia, and are there protected by Sylleus. Augustus corrects an error in the Julian year, and gives his name to the month of August. Herod finisheth the temple at Jerusalem, and dedicates it.
7	7	31	24	Herod pursues the Trachonite thieves into Arabia, and there destroys their fortress, which Sylleus had given them, and cuts off all of them that fell into his hands; for which being accused by Sylleus to Augustus, for some time is out of his favour on this account. Obodas, king of the Nabatheans, dies, and Aretas succeeds him.
8	6	32	25	Tiberius retires to Rhodes. The third breach happened between Herod and his sons by Mariamne. Herod, having recovered the favour of Augustus, writes to him of it, and obtains his permission to proceed against them; whereon having procured them to be condemned in a council at Berytus, he caused them both to be strangled. Zacharias saw the vision whereby was foreshewn to him the birth of John the Baptist.
9	5	33	26	A plot of Antipater's against his father's life detected. The angel Gabriel foreshews to the Virgin Mary that Christ should be born of her; which was accordingly accomplished at the end of the year at Bethlehem, she being then delivered of him at that place, and the young child was called Jesus.
4710	4	34	27	Joseph and Mary fly with the young child Jesus into Egypt to avoid the cruelty of Herod. Antipater, on his return from Rome, is convicted before Quin-

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judea.	Roman Emperors.	
4711	3	Archelaus.	1	28
				tilius Varus, president of Syria, of his intended parricide, and is condemned and put to death for it, and five days after died Herod himself.
12	2		2	29
				Archelaus succeeded Herod in Judea, Idumea, and Samaria; Herod Antipas in Galilee and Perea; and Philip in Aulonitis, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Batanea. Joseph and Mary, with the child Jesus, return out of Egypt, and settle at Nazareth in Galilee.
13	1		3	30
				The Armenians rebelling, and the Parthians confederating with them, Caius Cæsar, Augustus' grandson, is sent into the East, and lands in Egypt.
14	1	After Christ.	4	31
				Passing from thence into Syria, through Judea, refuseth to sacrifice at Jerusalem.
15	2		5	32
				The Christian era, according to Dionysius Exiguus, begins, four years after the true time of Christ's birth.
16	3		6	33
				Tiberius, being recalled from Rhodes, returns to Rome. Lucius Cæsar, the younger grandson of Augustus, dies at Marseilles.
17	4		7	34
				Caius Cæsar, the elder grandson of Augustus, having received a wound in Armenia, dies of it in his return.
18	5		8	35
19	6		9	36
4720	7		10	37
				The Julian calendar is set right. Augustus, on the death of his two grandsons, Caius and Lucius, adopts Tiberius, and forceth him at the same time to adopt Germanicus.
1	8			38
				Archelaus, being accused before Augustus for many mal-administrations in his government, is cited to Rome, there to answer for the same.
2	9			39
3	10			40
				Where, being convicted of them, he is deposed, and banished to Vienna in Gallia, all his goods decreed to be confiscated, and his principality to be made a Roman province; which decree P. Sulpitius Quirinus, then sent to be president of Syria, executed, and Coponius is made procurator of Judea. Great troubles ensued among the Jews on this change, especially on the account of the tax then laid upon them. Christ, in the twelfth year of his age, came into the temple, and there sat among the doctors.
4	11			41
5	12			42
6	13			43
7	14			44
				Marcus Ambivius is sent by Augustus to be procurator of Judea, in the place of Coponius. Salome, the sister of Herod, dies.
				Tiberius was admitted into copartnership of power with Augustus in the provinces of the empire.
				Annius Rufus is made procurator of Judea in the place of Ambivius.
				Augustus Cæsar dies at Nola in Campania on the 19th of August. Tiberius succeeds him in the whole empire.

Julian Period.	Years of Christ.	Roman Emperours.	
4728	15	Tiberius	1 Tiberius sends Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea.
9	16		2
4730	17	Tiberius alone.	3 Some disturbances happening in the East, Germanicus is sent thither under pretence to quell them.
1	18		4 Germanicus reduceth Cappadocia and Commagena into the form of Roman provinces, and settles the affairs of Armenia.
2	19		5 Germanicus visiteth Egypt, and, on his return in Syria, dieth at Antioch of poison given him by Piso, president of Syria.
3	20		6 Piso, on his return to Rome, being accused of poisoning Germanicus, slew himself, to avoid being condemned for it.
4	21		7
5	22		8
6	23		9 Valerius Gratus removes Annas from being high priest, after he had been fifteen years in that office, and substitutes in his place Ismael the son of Fabus.
7	24		10 Eleazar, the son of Annas, is made high priest in the place of Ismael.
8	25		11 Simon, the son of Camith, is made high priest in the place of Eleazar.
9	26		12 Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas, son-in-law of Annas, is made high priest in the place of Simon. Pontius Pilate is sent by Tiberius to be procurator of Judea in the place of Valerius Gratus. The ministry of the gospel is first begun by John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus Christ, which he carries on three years and an half.
4740	27		13
1	28		14
2	29		15 John being put in prison by Herod Antipas, about the time of the autumnal equinox, Christ appeared personally in the ministry of his gospel, and carried it on three years and an half more, to the time of his crucifixion.
3	30		16
4	31		17
5	32		18
6	33		19 Christ was crucified, rose again from the dead, and ascended up into heaven.

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